MILTON'S EMERGING VIEW OF FAME AND THE HEROIC LIFE

An abstract of a Thesis by
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March 1977
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By the writing of Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and Samson Agonistes, Milton clearly defines fame in Christian terms. His method is generally parodic; he throws into relief true fame by parodying its false varieties. Thus he makes a clear distinction between earthly fame and heavenly fame.

Chapter 1 traces Milton's struggle to define fame in his early poetry. His major works are treated independently in subsequent chapters; each chapter discusses his view of fame from negative and positive aspects through concrete representations. The last chapter gives a summary of the thesis.

Milton, in his early poetry, realizes and expresses the transient qualities of earthly fame. He clearly distinguishes, however, true Christian fame from the traditional concept of earthly fame in his major poetry by illustrating (1) the exemplary pattern of achieving true fame in the Son's act of faith, his ministry of redemption and (2) the parodic pattern of true fame in Satan's act of disobedience and self-glorification, his pretense as an exemplar of the worldly heroes. In the pattern of Samson's regenerative experience, Milton shows how the Son's type of act of faith resulted in ultimate fame.

MILTON'S EMERGING VIEW OF FAME AND THE HEROIC LIFE

A Thesis

Presented to

The School of Graduate Studies

Drake University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

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by

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March 1977

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INTRODUCTION

Milton, a seventeenth-century poet, has been ranked among the greatest of English poets, comparable even to Shakespeare. To compare Milton with Shakespeare, however, is like measuring the distance between the poles of the Earth. Though both aimed at the universal truth as literary artists, the difference is remarkable. Shakespeare presents no identity of self in his works; he is selfless, universal, an everyman. One does not need to delve deeply into Shakespeare's religious or philosophical speculation in order to read his works. Nor is it always important to look for his religious belief in his works. When reading or studying Milton's works, however, it is always important, especially in his major works, to see in them Milton as a Christian poet. In Milton's case, the poet or his belief and his poetry are inseparable, as they are interdependent, each reflecting the image of the other. As he matures in years, the Miltonic world becomes whole and compact, reflecting the inadequacy of the pagan counterpart of Christian world that was so dear to young Milton. He unfolds in front of us the providential drama, putting man's Scriptural history into the total figurative pattern of fall, redemption, and restoration, in which he illustrates the universal pattern of God's way with man in his personal, Christian way. The importance of seeing Christian Milton through

his works is shown in the numerous criticisms on Milton's poetry. Though only a few seem to deal directly with his view of fame, the major concern of this thesis, many turn out to be indirectly related to the subject. Just as the theme of fame seems at once vast and narrow, so, too, is the Miltonic world universal and compact. This thesis attempts to see Milton's world as such from the single perspective of fame.

When one talks of fame in a general sense, one is usually referring to public renown or eminence, or widespread reputation. This, a person can receive as a reward for or a public recognition of something above ordinary, which one has acquired through efforts or, simply, chance. The general acceptance of the meaning of the term, fame, has not changed up to the present since the age of Milton. The students of Milton can hardly miss two notable passages concerning fame in Milton's poetry, one in Lycidas (ll. 70-80) and the other in Paradise Regained (III. 44-92). A careful reading of these passages alone in both poems shows that Milton denies the commonly accepted view of public fame as something vain, worthless, and transient. For Milton, fame is true only in heavenly terms. Earthly accepted fame is a false representation or image, or, simply, a parody of true fame men have created since the Fall. Heavenly fame is eternal and is given only by God to those who put faith in Him, not in themselves.

The Miltonic world presents man's personal relationship based on his freedom of choice with God (instead of man-to-man relationship) in the eternal and spiritual Scriptural scheme with the Son's act of faith at its center. The Son, in his relationship with God, sets forth the right pattern of choice by acting on faith, thereby providing the exemplary or perfect pattern of faith or action, an eternal exemplification for man's imitation. God accommodates man in his individual experience under various dispensations in such a way that he may perceive His way from what He provides for him and respond correctly to His accommodation by acting on faith. In the process of his individual experience, man, through his faith in God or in the act of the Son's faith, sets the pattern of choice for others, while he himself is following the pattern set by the Son in his role as a deliverer of mankind. The regenerate man is spiritually fulfilling the total Scriptural pattern of fall, redemption, and restoration, beginning with his degeneration or isolation from God, followed by his right choice, before he is perfected in his original image in Revelation. Man's degeneration or his evil state is spiritually and physically manifested as a parody or a false image of his original or former happy state, fulfilling in itself under the right relationship with God, and is a sign provided by God in His accommodation to bring the sinner to the realization of his sinful state and thus to seek His help. Milton's God

provides infinite opportunities for man to keep up and restore his communication with Him, and faith serves as a catalyst to respond to such opportunities.

In his works, Milton illustrates fame in the type of Christian world he presents to us. Or, rather, his view of fame is incorporated in this scheme of the world so that the former cannot be discussed independently from the latter. It is this viewpoint that has held the key to the groundwork and the development of this thesis. Most important of all, though needless to say, it is Milton's poetry that has been a source of constant inspiration for the writing of this thesis.

As the title of this thesis indicates, the major part is devoted to the analysis in Milton's three major works of his view of fame. Chapter 1 traces Milton's aspiration, struggle, and assertion in his early poetry that have led to his full definition of fame in his major works. From Chapters 2 through 4, three independent works are treated separately; each chapter discusses Milton's view of fame from negative and positive aspects through concrete representations. The conclusion affords a summary-overview of "Milton's emerging view of fame and the heroic life" from the early poetry to the writing of Samson Agonistes.

Chapter 1

FAME IN THE EARLY POETRY

MISCELLANEOUS EARLY POEMS

Goddess Fame

Milton derives his basic and elementary idea of fame from the personification of it as the goddess of classical mythology. Dealing with the figure of Fame in his early poems, the young poet is playful: he changes, combines, and remodels various attributes of the conventional goddess to suit his own purpose. Traditionally in classical literature, Fame (or Fama) is considered equivalent to Rumor, and is more or less associated with evil. Milton employs this Fama-Rumor association in his Latin poems. In the elegy, "On the Death of the Bishop of Ely," he calls the "hundred-tongued Rumor" "a true messenger of evil and calamity" (p. 21),[1] who brings the news that the bishop has fallen victim to Death and Fates. In "Elegy IV," a "wondering Rumor" is "a true reporter...of calamities" (p. 42), who says that the tide of the Thirty Years' War is approaching Hamburg and that the imminent danger of the poet's former tutor, Thomas Young, is very near.

[1]All references for Milton's poetry are to The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton, ed. Douglas Bush (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965). Page numbers of Bush's English translation are listed in reference to the Latin poems.

In Milton's English poems, Fame, dissociated from the meaning Rumor, comes to be used in a more ordinary sense, praise. While in his Latin poems, Fame collaborates with Death and Fates, she works in relationship with Envy in his English poems. In "Arcades," Fame is accused of her inadequacy in performing her office:

> Fame, that her high worth to raise
> Seemed erst so lavish and profuse,
> We may justly now accuse
> Of detraction from her praise:
> Less than half we find expressed;
> Envy bid conceal the rest. (8-13)

It is Envy that makes Fame an insufficient admirer of the Countess Dowager. In "Sonnet XIII," however, Henry Lawes gains "praise enough for Envy to look wan." By linking Lawes with the Florentine musician, Casella, whom Dante met in Purgatory, Milton suggests that his musician friend is given enough honor for his worth:

> Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
> Than his Casella, whom he wooed to sing,
> Met in the milder shades of Purgatory.

It is conceivable that Fame is in some way or other associated with Fates, Death, and Envy, since she is originally the daughter of Terra (Earth), who produced her

in revenge for the Giants' defeat by the Olympian gods.[1] Besides, we may infer from her origin that she has some connection with the Satanic host, since Giants are the pagan counterpart of Christian evils, Satan and the fallen angels.

In "On the Fifth of November," which commemorates the day of the exposure of the Gunpowder plot planned by the Roman Catholics with the help of Satan, Fame's hugeness, her lofty tower, and her falsehood--the specific attributes of Satan[2]--are described. In his portrayal of Fame, however, Milton does not include any vicious attributes of Satan; she is, like most of the classical goddesses, an "inconstant goddess" (p. 37), who, on occasion, helps those who are in trouble. Here in the poem, Milton combines the details from Ovid's and Virgil's account of Fame to describe her.[3] Fame is called the "Titaness" (p. 37) whose lofty tower full of sounds is higher than the mountains that the Giants heaped on top of one another to attack the gods. The tower, located in some spot central to Europe, Asia, and Africa,[4]

[1]Ibid., p. 37. See Bush's notes in "On the Fifth of November."

[2]In Paradise Lost, Milton shows Satan, who "Stood like a tow'r" (I. 590) eminent among his crew, as an "Artificer of fraud" (IV. 121) who revolted against gods (I. 194ff., 573-79).

[3]Macon Cheek, "Milton's 'In quintum Novembris': An Epic Foreshadowing," Studies in Philology, LIV (1957), 177.

[4]Allan Gilbert, "The Tower of Fame in Milton," Modern Language Notes, XXVIII (1913), 30.

has a thousand doors and many windows, and a dense crowd of people in it whispers like swarms of flies humming and buzzing.[1] Fame, with countless ears and eyes, sits on the top of her tower to catch the faintest murmur from the farthest limits of the world and to peer through the far-stretched land. Then

> With a thousand tongues babbling Fame pours out recklessly to anyone what she has heard and seen; now she falsely diminishes the truth, now she enlarges it with made-up tales. (p. 37)

Not allying with Satan and the Roman Catholics, the "inconstant goddess," through her office, saves the English, a chosen people of God, from the treason of Gunpowder Plot. She is described as a messenger of God (Jupiter). With "whistling wings and varied plumage" on her body and with "a resounding trumpet" in her hand, she goes out to spread "ambiguous words and vague rumors" (p. 37) throughout the English cities. Milton hails the goddess for her deeds.

The examination of the figure of Fame in Milton's early poems shows that she has some association with evil and deals with human affairs concerning both misfortune and earthly praise of people. In "Arcades," he utilizes the Platonic myth to distinguish earthly Fame from "immortal

[1]Milton's comparison of the crowd with the swarms of flies anticipates his allusion of the fallen angels to the bees (PL, II. 761-71).

praise" (75), which "none can hear/Of human mold with gross unpurgèd ear" (72-73). However, he does not yet clearly distinguish Fame as representing the conception of false from true fame, as he does in his later works.[1] As an admirer of the classical poets, the youthful Milton employs Fame mainly as a medium of poetic expression and appears to present fun and geniality in her portrait in the early poems.

Poems on Death

In his youth, Milton writes poems on death dedicated mostly to the virtuous who were more or less renowned in his time. He expresses in these poems his awareness for the fact of the death of the virtuous and for the transitory nature of earthly fame. His effort to give consolations in these poems anticipates his quiet assurance in Epitaphium Damonis, Lycidas, and later major poems. His tendency to stress man's inner virtues, however superficial it may seem, manifests his realization that man's virtue does not die, but opens the way to eternity and eternal fame.

In his Latin poems, "Elegy III" and "On the Death of the Bishop of Ely," the young poet reveals his first realization of the inevitable death which the fragile mortal must face. Both poems follow the same pattern except that, in

[1]In Samson Agonistes, there are two allusions to the personification of Fame: the goddess Fortuna representing a medieval view of fame, and the god Fame explicitly stated by Dalila. Milton conceives both Fortuna and Fame as reflecting a false view of fame.

the latter poem, the consolation is given to the poet by the dead bishop already in heaven. Andrewes and Felton were the famous scholars and preachers of the time, and there was great conformity between the two.[1] Milton calls Andrewes an "honored bishop," "the signal glory of Winchester," and "a half-divine soul" (p. 19), and Felton, "an ornament of the human race" and "the head of the church" in Ely (p. 21). He expresses anger against the goddesses Fates and Death, who victimized the two honorable figures. Then the poet's realization of the fact of death is replaced by the vision of the apotheosis of the two figures. The vision assures us that the two bishops are not merely the victims of Death, but are raised above the common run by their offices and personal characters.[2] Pagan and Christian imageries fulfill the vision of heaven, where the two bishops now reside. In both poems, the vision of pagan heaven is replaced by the apocalyptic vision.[3]

[1]Walter Mackellar, ed., The Latin Poems of John Milton (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1930), pp. 48-49.

[2]Douglas Bush, A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), I, 68.

[3]Hugh Maclean, in "Milton's Fair Infant," Milton: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Arthur Barker (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p. 23, states: "In each poem, Christian images supersede the classical vision, but do not banish the images of classical story....The Christian victory, so to speak, contains, and even (for its fullest effect) depends upon the continued presence of classical elements, which imaginatively take their place in the eternal scheme."

In "Elegy III," Milton affords the vision of heaven through the image of Revelation (14:2,13):

> The celestial hosts applaud with their jeweled wings, and the pure air of heaven resounds with triumphal notes of the trumpet. All greet their new comrade with an embrace and song, and one spoke these words with serene face: "Come, my son, and enjoy the felicity of your Father's kingdom; henceforth, my son, rest for ever from your hard labors." He spoke, and the winged squadrons touched their harps. (p. 19)

In "the Bishop of Ely," the bishop mentions that he is carried to "the presence of the eternal Father," "as once the old prophet [Elijah]...was swept up to heaven" (p. 22). The apocalyptic imagery is given through the image of harvest, of the just punishment on the wicked, and of the heaven paved with emeralds (p. 22).

Though the apocalyptic vision indicates the bestowal of immortal fame on the bishops, both poems grant the uncertainty of vision on the poet's part. In "Elegy III," the poet suddenly comes back to reality in the end:

> But for me golden rest was banished along with darkness, and I grieved for the sleep broken by Cephalus' love. May dreams like these often fall to my lot! (p. 19)

In the "Bishop of Ely," the poet undercuts the vision of

heaven with the statement that he "seemed to hear, with wonder," the bishop's voice "in the gently moving air" (p. 22). In both cases, the poet reveals that the apotheosis of the two figures is or may be his wishful dreams, which indicates his hope that the two bishops may receive immortality and fame from "the eternal Father."

Again, Milton finds the visit of the inevitable death on the honorable man, a physician Gostlin, in "On the Death of the Vice-Chancellor, a Physician." Since Gostlin is a layman, Milton does not permit the apocalyptic vision as he did to the other two. The pagan imagery and the literal sense of the death of the flesh occupy the whole poem. Had the strength, "Hecateian spells," and "medical arts" withstood against the powers of Fates and Death, Hercules, Sarpedon, Circe, Media, Aesculapius, and Charon had yet lived. Had Gostlin's "medical arts" had the power to dispel death, he had yet been "happily alive and not without glory" (p. 24). The poet expresses the transitory nature of earthly fame caused by death. Milton concludes the poem with a kind of earthly recompense for death:

> Reverend Chancellor, may your limbs, I pray, rest in the soft turf, and from your grave may roses and marigolds grow, and the purple-lipped hyacinth. May Aeacus pronounce a mild judgment upon you, and Etnaean Proserpine smile, and may

you walk forever among the blessed in the Elysian field. (p. 24)

In these three poems, Milton emphasizes the earthly fame achieved by the three figures, but realizes its transitory nature. In "On the Death of a Fair Infant Dying of a Cough," he seeks the experiences of the individual soul, which, united with the body, might have enjoyed the earthly reward. Here the poet engages in a profound meditation on death and considers, step by step, the possibility of immortality and immortal fame for the dead infant.

As the former three figures have been the victims of Fates and Death, so the infant is a victim of the amorous god, Winter, who mistakenly killed the flower, infant (stanzas I-III). In the fourth stanza, the poet tries to find consolation, but reaches the pseudo-resolution. He compares the fate of the child with that of Hyacinth and finds the similarity of the situation between the two. The infant is "not inglorious in her fate" (IV. 22), since Apollo once killed his loved one by mistake, but transformed the victim into an immortal flower. He rationalizes that the god's love may give the child immortal glory.

In the last two lines of the fourth stanza, however, the poet dissociates the Apollo-Hyacinth myth from the relationship between Winter and the child. Apollo

transformed him to a purple flower:
Alack, that so to change thee Winter had no power!

(27-28)

Then the poet reaches the nadir in stanza V. He realizes the fact of death, but cannot persuade himself to think that the child is dead. He is unable to imagine that the beautiful child corrupts in "earth's dark womb" (30) or lies in "wormy bed" (31) or hides from the world in a "low-delvèd tomb" (32),

> for something in thy face did shine
> Above mortality that showed thou wast divine.
>
> (34-35)

Hitherto from stanzas I to V, the child's soul has been moving through the classical and natural worlds, which cannot give the poet a satisfactory answer. These last two lines (34-35) of stanza V bring the poet back to the starting point and prepare him for the questions in the next stanza.

From stanzas VI to IX, the poet again speculates on the possible immortality of the child's soul. After postulating in the fifth stanza that the child might have possessed some divine virtue, the poet asks in stanza VI whether she is blest in the Christian or the pagan heaven (39-40). Milton, however, does not seem to anticipate a definite answer for his question, since he adds the comment, "if such there were" (40). In fact, the child's death and immortality are a complete mystery to him:[1]

[1]James Hanford, "The Youth of Milton: An Interpretation of His Early Development," Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne (London: Macmillan, 1925), p. 96.

Oh say me true if thou wert mortal wight,
And why from us so quickly thou didst take thy flight.
(41-42)

From stanzas VII to IX, Milton tries to seek an answer to his questions. He looks for a possible answer in a classical world in stanza VII: the child may have been a fallen star from Olympus and taken back by Jove "in fit place" "in nature's true behoof" (45-46); she may have been some goddess fled from the war between Olympians and Titans (47-49). Again, unable to find an answer in the classical and natural worlds (as in the case of stanzas I-IV), Milton moves a step further in the world of ethical abstractions in stanza VIII: the possibility of the child being "let down in cloudy throne" in the figures of Astraea, Mercy, or Truth "to do the world some good" (50-56). This assumption does not afford the upward movement,[1] through which the achievement of immortal fame may be possible. Finally, Milton finds the satisfactory pattern--a pattern of downward and upward movement--in a Christian world, whence he cannot move any further. He speculates that the child might have been a "golden-wingèd host" (57), a heavenly messenger who came down to the world and flew back to heaven,

Thereby to set the hearts of men on fire
To scorn the sordid world, and unto heav'n aspire.
(62-63)

[1]Maclean, p. 27.

Here Milton reaches to the point of speculating that the child himself, reminding men of heavenly glory, sets the pattern of achieving immortal fame. But this speculation does not complete the poet's questioning. He repeats in the tenth stanza the question asked in the sixth stanza: why did she have to go back to heaven so quickly then? Had the child been a "golden-wingèd host," Milton asks, why could she not have been an intercessor "To stand 'twixt us and our deservèd smart?" (69). In other words, he is rendering the role of Christ to the child.[1] But he realizes that he has not found an answer, since the second question asked in stanza VI is not resolved: is she mortal or immortal?

In the eleventh stanza, the poet comes back to reality or to the given situation which the child's mother is facing, finding his previous conjectures "false-imagined" (72). He admits that he could not quite solve the mystery of the child's death and immortality. However, instead of dismissing his reflection made in stanzas IX-X, he employs it in his address to the child's mother. He reminds her mother of immortal fame in Christian terms by showing her the necessity of accepting and responding to the workings of divine Providence:

> Think what a present thou to God hast sent,
> And render him with patience what he lent;

[1]Ibid., p. 28.

> This if thou do he will an offspring give,
> That till the world's last end shall make thy name
> to live. (74-77)[1]

The passage illustrates, though briefly, God's way with man, anticipating its full explication in Milton's major great poems.

In "Fair Infant," Milton's speculation on the child's possible attaining of immortality and immortal fame prepares for his full interpretation of positive fame in his later works. His speculative assumption of the child's possible identity in stanzas IX-X in reference to the Christian pattern of downward and upward movement anticipates the pattern of humiliation and exaltation to be exemplified by the Son in Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained. The last stanza contains and is expected to be unfolded by mature Milton as the Son's humiliation, an exemplification for man's imitation--reliance on Providence with patience, but without despair. It also bears significance in relationship to the

[1]Milton's putting a limitation on "her name to live" "till the world's last end" does not alter the general impression of the passage that it contains his emerging view of fame positively confirmed in his later works. William Jones, in "Immortality in Two of Milton's Elegies," Myth and Symbol: Critical Approaches and Applications, ed. Bernice Slote (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 135, holds an opinion that Milton meant earthly fame: "The sorrowing mother is promised fame, not heavenly fame but worldly fame. The fertility of nature is the earthly hope that Milton holds out to Anne Phillips who was already pregnant with another child."

apocalyptic consolation given to the martyrs and saints in the Book of Revelation, which Milton fully utilizes in his later poems.

Milton's other poem on death, "An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester," embodies the same pattern of thought manifested in "Fair Infant," though the former poem is addressed from the beginning more to the mother than to her child. Like the first three elegies examined in this section, Milton stresses not only "virtues" (4) and "noble birth" (5) of the mother but also her earthly fame cut off by fate (11-14). The presence of Hymen at her marriage feast (an allusion to the Orpheus-Eurydice myth) and the direct allusion to Atropos, who came by "mischance or blame" (27) and "spoiled...both fruit and tree" (30), further emphasize that both the mother and her child are the victims of Fate. The reference to the flower "Plucked up by some unheedy swain" (38) echoes the infant killed by careless Winter in "Fair Infant."

Then as in the case of the previous poems on death discussed in this section, Milton shifts his reflection on the literal meaning of death to the supernatural glory that the dead may receive. After the prayer that the "Gentle Lady" may rest peacefully in her grave (47), the poet finds himself giving the mother a sacrificial role:

> That to give the world increase
> Shortened hast thy own life's lease. (51-52)

Not being content with crowning her with earthly glory (53-60), he moves on to seek heavenly light. The poet compares her with Rachel, Jacob's wife, who died in giving birth to Benjamin. Like Rachel, the Marchioness

> Through pangs fled to felicity,
> Far within the bosom bright
> Of blazing Majesty and Light (68-70)

As Rachel, a "bright saint high sitt'st in glory" (61), so the marchioness, a "new-welcome saint" (71) "clad in radiant sheen," is "now a queen" (73-74).

As has been shown in "Fair Infant," Milton's pattern of thought implicit in this poem clarifies itself in his major poems. (1) His giving the marchioness a role of sacrifice and then (2) his throwing light upon the pattern of humiliation and exaltation--pangs to felicity--are suggestive of hiw growing view toward the definition of positive fame. The imagery of the saints crowned in glory, reflecting the consolation of Revelation, also prepares for his interpretation of fame in later ages.

In "Sonnet XIV," a poem dedicated to Mrs. Catharine Thomason, a woman of virtues and great knowledge, Milton's progressive interpretation of fame is very much discernible in comparison with his earlier poems on death. He indicates that Mrs. Thomason's "Faith" and "Love" (1) in her earthly life show the way for her reception into the eternal life in heaven:

Thy works and alms and all thy good endeavor
Stayed not behind, nor in the grave were trod:
But, as Faith pointed with her golden rod,
Followed thee up to joy and bliss for ever.

It is her "Faith" and "Love" that

spake the truth of thee in glorious themes
Before the Judge, who thenceforth bid thee rest
And drink thy fill of pure immortal streams.

Though "Faith" and "Love" are presented in personifications, Milton shows here, as he is to clearly prove in his later works, that with the works of faith comes the immortality of fame. Again, the images of Revelation[1] look forward to the apocalyptic consolation given to the faithful in Milton's three major poems.

As a young Christian poet, Milton shows in his poems that man does not end his life in the grave. In all the poems discussed here, the downward movement caused by death is replaced by the upward flight toward heaven's glory: man must meet death with his fame buried and forgotten, but the virtuous will receive immortality of fame in heaven. Though

[1]E. A. G. Honigmann, in Milton's Sonnets (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), pp. 136-37, shows that, in this Sonnet, there are two explicit and one implicit reference to Revelation. "Thy good endeavor" parallels "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord....Their works do follow them" in Rev. 14:13. "Pure immortal streams" are "the water of life" the faithful drink in Rev. 22:1, 17. The "golden rod" may allude to the "golden reed" held by the angel in Rev. 21:15.

Milton realizes in his early youth man's fragility against death, by the time he writes "Sonnet XIV," death is assuredly transcended by the eternal glory that the good receive from heaven. The consolation offered to the dead, the apocalyptic vision, will be perfected in Samson Agonistes, in which Samson triumphs in death.

"Elegy IV: To Thomas Young"

Milton shows his awareness in "Elegy IV: To Thomas Young" that God will always assist those who suffer for the sake of truth with heroic fortitude. Young as Milton is, a word of encouragement to his former tutor, Thomas Young, anticipates a famous passage in Paradise Lost, a passage which forms his later view of true fame: "the better fortitude/Of patience and heroic martyrdom" (IX. 31-32).

Thomas Young, rejected by his country, is forced into religious exile and lives in Hamburg where the imminent danger of war is approaching. The poet extols Young as a martyr who, regardless of the tribulation which surrounds him, seeks to serve God and teach His word. His sympathy for Young is mingled with his hostile attitude toward the English Church which has compelled God's servant to seek his substance in a foreign land:

> Native country, harsh parent...is it right for you thus to expose your innocent children? Do you thus without pity force them away to an alien

> soil...men whom God's providence has sent to you, who bear the joyful tidings from heaven, and who teach the way that after death leads to the stars? You deserve, indeed, to live immured in Stygian darkness and to perish in eternal hunger of soul!
>
> (p. 42)

He compares the situation of Young with those of the other "innocent children" of God, the victims of persecution--Elijah, Paul, Christ. Just as these figures were assisted by God, Milton indicates, Young will find God his guardian if he keeps his faith:

> Take heart and do not let anxious hope succumb to cares, nor pale fear shake your frame. For although you are beset by flashing arms and countless weapons threaten you with death, yet none shall wound your defenseless side, no spear shall drink your blood. For you shall be secure under the bright shield of God; He will be your guardian, He your defender.
>
> (p. 43)

The situation of Young is prefatory to those of the Son in Paradise Regained and Samson in Samson Agonistes. Undergoing suffering, the two heroes overcome temptation to doubt and despair by relying on God's Providence, through which they triumph over evil and achieve heavenly fame. Milton's encouragement that the Lord of host who defended Zion will rescue

his friend from the danger of war will be assured in the exaltation of the Son and Samson.

Finally, Milton gives a word of assurance to Thomas Young: "you, remember to hope...and overcome evils by heroic fortitude" (p. 43). It is "hope" that the poet emphasizes here, hope that God will not abandon him. Milton clarifies in his later works that "heroic fortitude" is the fortitude of patience and heroic martyrdom, through which the saints and martyrs overcome the wicked. His reminder to his friend anticipates the consolation of Revelation: "Here is a call for the endurance of the saints, those who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus" (14:12). Though Milton expresses much personalized affection and sympathy toward Young and does not yet widen his view toward the universal theme of man's experience, "Elegy IV" is a prelude to his later works, in which he shows that "suffering for truth's sake/Is fortitude to highest victory" (PL, XII. 569-70).

Fame as a Poet

In An Apology for Smectymnuus, Milton equates the poet with his poem:

> ...he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and

> honorablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy.[1]

The poetry, as Milton indicates, is a reflection of the poet's mind and his life. Likewise, one can see that Milton's attitude toward his fame as a poet is reflected in his works, through which his early view of fame may be discernible. With this view in consideration, one may point out that in "Ad Patrem" and "Mansus" Milton, as a Renaissance humanist, speaks of his individual aspiration to achieve immortality and immortal fame through poetry, while in "Sonnet VII" he reveals his aspect of an individual Christian who, having in mind his obscure status as a poet, indicates his intention to labor, however late, under the "great Task-Master's eye." In the sestet of "Sonnet VII," he implies that he entrusts his fame as a poet to an eternal scheme, to God's eye, which is all-seeing and the only reality.[2] In comparison with this religious piece of work, "Ad Patrem" and "Mansus" are secular pieces, in which the dominant classical ideas and images are moulded into the Renaissance poet's creed. How to interpret these two aspects of Milton

[1]The Prose Works of John Milton (London: Bohn's Standard Library, 1848-64), III, 118. Hereafter, cited as Prose Works.

[2]See Honigmann, p. 99.

in relationship to his conception of fame as a poet or his early view of fame is the point of discussion in this section.

In "Ad Patrem," Milton declares his intention to choose a poetic vocation as his career. To cultivate music, throughout the English Renaissance, meant to cultivate song;[1] and Milton, expressing his gratitude toward his father, who is himself a composer, finds the analogy between poetry and music, or poetry and song. For him, poetry is

> divine song, which more than anything else proclaims the celestial source of the human mind, its heavenly seed, and still keeps holy sparks of the Promethean fire. (p. 99)

The song (i.e., poetry) raises man's spirit to the "changeless eternity": it enables us, at this moment and through eternity, to sing in harmony with the "celestial music" through "the spaces of heaven" (p. 100). In his explanation of the immortality of poetry, Milton blends the classical and Christian images,[2] though the former dominates the latter. He suggests here that the poet may achieve immortality and immortal fame through his work. His view of immortal fame

[1]Hanford, Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne, p. 92; Fumio Ochi, Milton Kenkyu (Studies in Milton) (Kyoto: Doshisha Univ. Press, 1958), p. 69.

[2]Especially among the scattered Christian images, the "golden crowns" (p. 100) refer to the images in Revelation 4:4 and 14:2.

shows the faint anticipation of the point he makes in "Sonnet VII" in that the poet's fame is heavenly.

Milton frames his conception of the immortality of poetry with his aspiration to rank among the Renaissance poets. He maintains that it is not law of business that he wants to choose as his vocation: his mind is set on his aspiration to sit among the Renaissance humanist poets with "a victor's ivy and laurel" (p. 101). Like them, he wants to be a heroic poet, a universal poet versed in science as well as letters and history (p. 101):[1]

> Then I shall not mingle, unknown, with the dull crowd, and my footsteps shall shun the sight of profane eyes. (p. 101)

In like case, Milton in "Mansus" expresses his wish to follow the great poets, this time clearly intending to be an English poet. In paying tribute to Mansus, an Italian patron of the poets, Tasso and Marino, with whom (according to his admirer) he shares the way to immortality and sits among the "victorious ivy and laurels" (p. 153), Milton, with the reminder of the culture and poetry of England, manifests his desire to be an English heroic poet. In "Ad Patrem," he extols the classical golden age, when the bard "sang of the inspiring deeds and achievements of heroes, of chaos and the

[1]Bush, A Variorum Commentary, p. 251.

broad foundations of the world, of creeping gods" (p. 100). Likewise in "Mansus," he tells of the greatness of his own race: "The Druids," ancient shepherds (poet-priests) of England, "used to sing the praises of heroes and deeds worthy of emulation" (p. 153). During the Renaissance, the principle was established that a heroic poet should deal with the early history or legends of his country.[1] Milton seems to be following this principle when he states his intention to write an epic on Arthur: in the future, he shall

> call back into verse our native kings, and
> Arthur waging wars even under the earth, or
> shall tell of the great-hearted heroes united
> in the invincible fellowship of the table. (p. 154)

Milton ascribes to Mansus the poetic power of Apollo. In his address to his father, he indicates that he would like to be an Orpheus-like poet (a poet-priest) to perform Orphean task and thus to achieve immortal fame through immortal song (i.e., poetry). Milton concludes "Mansus" with the supposition that, if he dies, he hopes to gain a poetical honor, especially ascribed to the Renaissance poets. Then

> if faith has meaning, if rewards are assured
> for the good, I myself, carried away to the
> home of the heavenly gods to which labor and

[1]Ibid., p. 279.

a pure mind and ardent virtue lead[1]...and...
I shall in joy know myself blessed in ethereal
Olympus. (pp. 154-55)

In both "Ad Patrem" and "Mansus," Milton not only employs the Renaissance celebrations of the immortality of poetry and the poet's power to confer immortal fame initiated from the classical poets[2] but also expresses his aspiration as an individual poet to achieve immortal fame through poetry. Milton's last statement in "Mansus" on unassured faith and rewards for the good slightly parallels and is given increasing confirmation in the last two lines of "Sonnet VII." After the conviction that his fame as a poet will be entrusted to "the will of Heav'n," he states:

All is, if I have grace [faith] to use it so,
As ever in my great Task-Master's eye.

In "Mansus," Milton does not display much conviction of faith, while in "Sonnet VII," he implies that if he has faith, he will be bestowed eternal fame as a poet. Milton's faith in God's Providence in regard to his fame as a poet is strongly expressed in his much later works, "Sonnet XIX" and

[1]That the poet should teach religion and virtue through the writing of poetry is typical of the Renaissance conception for the poet. The personal passage in An Apology for Smectymnuus cited in the beginning of this section tells us that the poet himself should possess "a pure mind and ardent virtue."

[2]Bush, A Variorum Commentary, p. 253.

"Sonnet XXII," the same autobiographical pieces as "Sonnet VII." In fact, "Sonnet XIX" clearly reflects his conception of heavenly fame in his three major works. If Milton has exhibited his ardent hope to rank among the Renaissance poets in "Ad Patrem" and "Mansus," he manifests in the Sonnets his interpretation of fame as an individual poet, which itself mirrors and anticipates his later view of fame. In the Latin poems, his emphasis falls on poetry and the poet, while in the Sonnets, his conception of fame as a poet itself determines his emerging universal theme of fame, as can be seen later. It may be concluded that, as Milton ages, the aspect of him as an individual Christian persists and supersedes his other aspect as a Renaissance humanist, though of course the latter aspect is not absent in his later works. His progressive view of fame in general can be traced as a whole in his early profound work, Lycidas.

EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS

In Epitaphium Damonis, Milton finds the inadequacy of the classical and pastoral worlds to bestow immortal fame on his dead friend, Diodati. His personal grief for the dead expressed from the beginning of the poem is transcended in the end by the Christian consolation of Revelation, though the classical imagery is present in the vision of Diodati blessed in heaven. The poem can be divided into two parts: in the first half (ll. 1-160), the poet expresses his

sorrow in the classical and pastoral worlds, but finds no consolation in that Damon has gained immortal fame; in the latter half (ll. 161-219), starting with the poet's dismissal of the pastoral world and with his digression on the epic plans, the poem moves upward through the classical, Platonic, and Christian realms until finally Diodati is welcomed into the marriage with the Lamb in heaven. The digression provides the turning point for the poet's realization that immortal fame is possible not in the human world, but in heaven, i.e., in the Christian heaven.[1]

In his deep sorrow for the loss of Damon, the poet at first finds no consolation from powers of earth or heaven which have brought unjustified death to his friend. However, his question that such an excellent man should not lie dead obscure among "the crowd of nameless shades" (l. 22) enables him to seek some kind of consolation, but he finds only the pseudo-resolution:

> You shall not crumble in the grave unwept.
> Your fair fame shall stand fast and long shall
> flourish among the shepherds....they shall
> rejoice to sing your praises, so long as Pales
> and Faunus shall love the fields--if it means

[1] A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Milton's Pastoral Monodies," Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 268.

> anything to have been true to ancient faith and piety. (p. 163)

The poet undercuts the power of the classical and pastoral worlds with the words "so long as" and "if." Though he is convinced that these worlds shall give Damon fame, he is not assured of its immortality. They cannot give the poet an adequate consolation. Then he realizes the intensity of his grief and bitter loneliness: "what now is to become of me?" (p. 163). The recollection of his past with Damon merely adds to his sorrow, and the procession of mourners in the pastoral world cannot give him comfort. The poet reaches the nadir:

> Their charms and consolations cannot move me; there is no comfort in the present nor any hope for the future. (p. 164)

Here Milton shows the hopelessness of the pastoral world to give any kind of consolation. Still hard on the poet is the realization that, in contrast with each species of nature, which dies only to be renewed, men

> are a hard race, driven by cruel fates, with minds alien to one another and hearts discordant. (p. 164)

Like mortal fame, love among the friends is cut off by death. Milton stresses the inadequacy of love on the temporal, human level.

With the next refrain--"Go home unfed, my lambs, your

master has no time for you now" (l. 113)--the poet's mind gradually moves away from the present pastoral world, wherein he sought consolation in vain. He questions the validity of his trip to Italy: was it worthwhile to be in Italy instead of staying with Damon at his death-bed and saying to him, "Farewell! remember me as you rise to the stars" (l. 123)? Here the suggestion of the coming immortal fame of Damon is hinted with the presented image that the dead one is moving upward to the stars. The recollection of the Italian tour pushes the poet a step further. What seems to be the justification for his absence from Damon's death is his literary experience in the land of Muses, whence Damon had sprung. Not only did he share happy and worthwhile experiences with the Italian poets and scholars but also gained some literary eminence among them. But Damon was dead when the poet thought he was alive. The memory of his experience in Italy prompts the poet to move beyond pastoralism, to be an epic poet and look for fame not in Latin, but in English. The poet suggests that his Italian tour has brought home his duty as an English poet.[1] The digression itself consists of the poet's proclamation that, hereafter, unless death visits him, he shall write an epic on a British theme in his native language and shall be content with fame in his country, though he shall be unknown to

[1]Ochi, Milton Kenkyu (Studies in Milton), p. 138.

the rest of the world (pp. 165-66). During the Renaissance, pastoral poetry was ranked as the lowest of literary genres and epic, the highest. Following the Renaissance view, we realize that the movement from pastoral to epic points toward and provides the progression toward the higher and final consolation of immortal fame bestowed on Damon.[1] Furthermore, the poet's preference of English over Latin, to serve God's elect country as a divinely inspired poet, prepares for the movement from the classical world to the predominantly Christian world. Hence, the meaning of the refrain (l. 161) may be taken as the poet's abandoning of pastoralism, which the early part of the poem embodies, but which has proved its inadequacy.

The poem moves on toward the higher plane, when the "two cups" (l. 181), another memory of the Italian tour, are presented. The pictorial art carved on the cups presents the images not only of the resurrection, but also of the ascent of the pure souls, such as Damon's, toward heaven. Here the images of resurrection promised to Damon are brought forth by such carvings on the cups as the sea, springtime, the phoenix, and Aurora rising from the waters (p. 166). Then Milton exhibits a figure of Love as the one who never aims his darts at "a downward shot," nor "[attacks] frivolous spirits and the vulgar hearts of the crowd" (p. 166). He

[1]Ralph Condee, "The Structure of Milton's 'Epitaphium Damonis,'" Studies in Philology, LXII (1965), 588, 590.

enkindles only "sanctified minds and the souls of the gods" (l. 197). Hence, the pattern on the cups represents the Platonic and Christian idea of the ascent of the virtuous mind toward the eternal life and love of heaven. And certainly, "pure Damon," Milton tells us, is one of the "sanctified minds" now dwelling "among the souls of heroes and the immortal gods," who "drains ethereal draughts and drinks joy with holy lips" (p. 166). The accounts of the two cups and Damon blessed among the immortals are presented through classical, Platonic, and Christian images.

Finally, however, when the name Diodati is mentioned, Milton reinterprets the eternal life and fame of Damon in Christian terms. Damon will be known to all the heavenly hosts by his "divine name," "Diodati" (i.e., "God-given"), and, as one of the virgins, will be received into the heavenly marriage with the Lamb (p. 166):

> Your radiant head shall be bound with a glittering crown and, with shadowing branches of the joyous palm in your hands, you shall for ever enact the immortal marriage, where hymns and the ecstatic sound of the lyre mingle with the choric dances of the blessed, and festal throngs revel under the thyrsus of Zion. (ll. 215-19)

The passage is replete with the note of Bacchic ecstasy,[1] but the idea of immortality and immortal fame is put forth

[1]Ibid., p. 594.

in a full Christian form through the consolation of Revelation.

In Epitaphium Damonis, Milton moves beyond the pastoral world to seek immortal fame for Diodati in a Christian heaven. By distinguishing Damon from his divine name, Diodati, the poet differentiates the eternal fame in heaven from the temporal one in the human world. Hence, he shows that in the woods his friend or his Damon will still be Damon, who is Diodati in heaven. The conclusion assures us that Diodati is blessed in eternal glory in the Christian heaven. As for the poet, his grief is transcended, through the consolation of Revelation, by the glimpse of the eternal bliss and fame bestowed on his friend.

Finally, however, we realize that we are left with the feeling of uncertainty on the poet's part. Unlike Lycidas, in which the poet fully utilizes the pastoral convention to universalize the theme of fame and to make Lycidas' experience his own, this poem conveys the feeling of the poet's being left out, while seeing the dead off to the reception of the immortality of fame. Thus, the ending, though like the one in Lycidas, does not quite convince us. The poet or the shepherd Thyrsis remains in the same pastoral world after dismissing it with the realization that immortal fame is possible only in the Christian heaven. As Thyrsis is still Thyrsis, his Damon will still be Damon in the woods. The progressive movement in the latter half of

the poem seems to have served only for Diodati, who finally receives immortal fame in the Christian heaven. The poet, on the other hand, places himself in the position where he must continue to remain in the same pastoral world. Hence, we receive the impression that Milton's poetic aspiration is not fully realized despite his earlier decision to sing for God's chosen people in his native country. We see here a conflict in his mind in reconciling his poetic aspiration with his growing Christian view of fame.

LYCIDAS

Lycidas subsumes and terminates Milton's struggle in defining fame in early poems. The immutable fact of early death involves Milton with the question of the poet's fame, which is transcended in the end by his progressive insight into true fame for the good seen in the eternal scheme of God's Providence. The fact that Edward King, a young poet and a candidate for a priestly office, died even before he grew to maturity has compelled young Milton to question the validity of pursuing an Orphean task and the poetic fame that accompanies it, and of living laborious days without due reward except that of death. Directly facing the inexplicable reality of death, he goes so far as to question God's justice: "Why do the good suffer and die, while evil flourishes?" Fully utilizing the pastoral convention, he brings into the poem the universal meaning of his deep

personal feeling. The poet as the shepherd in the poem expresses concern for the poetic honor of Milton and King, as well as of the poet in general. The premature death of King, which might have been the case for young Milton, signifies the suffering and death of the good shepherds who serve God. The two overt consolations superimposed upon the supernatural agencies enable the poet to gain culminative insight into the final consolation, which is inspired to him through the acknowledgment of the previous consolations. At the climax of the poem, he gains the prophetic vision of Apocalypse, the vision of the virgin's marriage with the Lamb. He finds here the ultimate reward for the faithful shepherds, the poet-priest-shepherds. And Milton discovers the final answer for his questioning of fame in this consolation of Revelation.

The poem begins with the image of the poet compelled to pluck and shatter Lycidas' garland "before the mellowing year" (5), "For Lycidas is dead ere his prime" (8). We recall that Milton, speaking as a Renaissance poet in "Ad Patrem" and "Mansus," expresses his desire to be crowned with "laurels," "myrtles," and "ivy." This garland, which signifies the crown of immortal fame for the poet or the honor of immortal poetry, is cut and made mortal before it can ripen, since Lycidas is dead before he is yet ready. Lycidas "knew/Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme" (10-11), just as the poet is now ready to sing for Lycidas.

But his death has cast a shadow over the expected immortality of his poetical honor. Like Lycidas' poetic promise, the symbol of immortal fame is reduced to a mere mortal thing. The daughters of Jove, Muses, who ordinarily inspire immortal poetry, cannot sing for the dead Lycidas. They are invoked by the poet only to "sweep the string [lyre]" (17)[1] for the lament of his death "with denial vain and coy excuse" (18). The tragedy of Lycidas has struck the poet with the realization of death brought to the immortality of poetry and poet's fame. Then the poet imagines that if he dies "ere his prime," some poet like him may dedicate a poem to him, as he is now doing for the dead poet:

> So may some gentle Muse
> With lucky words favor my destined urn,
> And as he passes turn,
> And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud. (19-22)

He indicates that his poetic promise (like Lycidas') may be cut off before he can ripen. Here, the identification of Lycidas' situation and the poet's becomes explicit. And we are informed through the picture of the ideal pastoral world that the poet and Lycidas (the poet-shepherds) used to sing and feed the flock together. The poet's sudden outcry with the feeling of loss that his peer is gone and will never

[1]In "Ad Patrem," Milton, praising the immortality of song, states that Orpheus owes his immortal fame to song, not to lyre (p. 100).

return brings him back to reality. The harmony of the pastoral world is suddenly broken by the reality of the human world: the universal reality of death and utter loss brought by it. The intrusion of un-naturalness (i.e., "canker," "taint-worm," "frost," "thorn,") upon the harmonious pastoral world (39-48), the fact that unripe garlands must be plucked--the poet makes us aware (and he himself feels) that "the flaw is in our entire condition."[1] We already expect that the poet must be given consolations from above, from somewhere other than the human world.

The sense of mortality and destruction pursues the poet, when he makes a conventional appeal to the pastoral deities, water nymphs. The nymphs, the guardians of English pastoral poets, Druids, were impotent to save Lycidas from his doom. Nor could the Muse herself keep Orpheus away from death, which stopped his voice. The identification of Lycidas with Druids and Orpheus undercuts Milton's aspiration to become an Orphean poet, as stated by himself in "Ad Patrem" and "Mansus." In reprimanding the nymphs for their helplessness to save Lycidas, Milton ironically indicates that their "old bards, the famous Druids" (53) are, after all, subjected to mortal fame. The heavy stress on the reality of Orpheus' death discredits Milton's

[1]Rosemond Tuve, "Theme, Pattern, and Imagery in Lycidas," Images and Themes in Five Poems by Milton (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1957), p. 88.

hitherto held concept of poetic fame. We can visualize the "gory visage" (62) of Orpheus transmitted to "the head of... Lycidas" (51) is sent down the stream weltering to the parching wind. The speaker cannot deny the sense of expectancy for the poetic fame brought to nothing by the universal reality of mortality.

There follows the poet's direct questioning of fame. He presumes that if fame is useless before death, it may be better to "sport with Amaryllis in the shade" (68) than to tend "with uncessant care...shepherd's trade/And strictly meditate the thankless Muse" (64-66). He defines fame in terms of Orpheus' asceticism: that "to scorn delights, and live laborious days" (72) serves as "the means of fulfilling the desire to perpetuate oneself through the fame of one's deeds."[1] Yet one receives not the "fair guerdon" (73), when he seeks to "burst out into sudden blaze" (74) of fame, but instead, the doom of death from "the blind Fury" (75). Though the poet realizes that the desire of recognition for one's deeds is universal human weakness--"the last infirmity of noble mind" (71)--he regrets the uselessness of poetic endeavor. His questioning of the Renaissance concept of fame as vulnerable is answered by Phoebus, guardian of Orpheus (poet-shepherd), who defines fame in heavenly terms:

[1]Caroline Mayerson, "The Orpheus Image in Lycidas," PMLA, LXIV (1949), 193.

> Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
> Nor in the glistering foil
> Set off to th' world, nor in broad rumor lies,
> But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
> And perfect witness of all-judging Jove;
> As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
> Of so much fame in heav'n expect thy meed.
>
> (78-84)

Fame is not the human praise that attracts human attention, nor the rumor that spreads among the gross ears. Its plant, unlike laurels, myrtles, and ivies, lives and spreads growing on immortal soil in heaven. The eternal justice of reward is accorded to the good in heaven by the "perfect witness of all-judging Jove." For the first time in the poem, fame is made to correspond with eternity, and Phoebus' consolation is the first climactic resolution for the poet.

However, Phoebus' statement does not give perfect comfort and assurance that Lycidas is endowed with eternal fame. The poet returns to the pastoral to seek the cause of Lycidas' death. With the invocation to Arethuse, the possible apotheosis of Lycidas through water is hinted. Here again, the pastoral deities, who have already proved their impotency, cannot give adequate consolations to the poet. Triton and the other water figures come only to plead their innocence for Lycidas' death. And once more, the sense of fatality or reality (like the images of

Orpheus' head in the water, and of "the blind Fury" preventing "sudden blaze" of fame) persists:

> It was that fatal and perfidious bark,
> Built in th' eclipse, and rigged with curses dark,
> That sunk so low that sacred head of thine.
>
> (100-02)

Next, Camus, a river god, comes not to state his innocence, but to question the cause of Lycidas' death: "who hath reft...my dearest pledge?" (107). The question asked in the opening passage why young Lycidas must be plucked out of his life without the promise of immortal fame is still implied here. But, of course, in Peter's answer, the second climactic resolution, we find that the poet's thought has progressed a step further. The point of question is placed on the unjustified death of the poet-priest shepherd: why does God end the life of the good shepherd, while the evil survive? The whole matter of Lycidas' death is universalized, gradually adopting the Christian iconology of the shepherd as poet-priest. The question raised here is not unlike the one in Samson Agonistes: the problem of God abandoning His servant to suffer and to die. In encountering the unjustified death of the poet-priest, the poet experiences the progressive understanding of its meaning. Peter's apocalyptic prophecy that justice will be exacted upon the unfaithful shepherds by the power of the sword that issues from the mouth of God is consoling to the extent that

the evil will receive due punishment.

After the ending of St. Peter's statement, the gradual synthesis of the previous consolations occurs, and the poet stops questioning. The synthesis is suggested when the poem returns again to the genuine pastoral realm with the invocation to Alphéus. For the preceding pastoral return, Arethuse has been the vehicle. In the mythical union of Alphéus and Arethuse, the poet suggests the marriage of Lycidas with the Lamb which is to come.[1] But before the poet visualizes Lycidas blessed in the kingdom of heaven, he gives a final stress on the impotency of the pastoral nature, and then the reality of human fragility and suffering. The flowers called from the pastoral nature "To strew the laureate hearse where Lycidas lies" (151) cannot give any consolatory promise, since his body cannot be found. Even here, however, the coming immortality of Lycidas is hinted through the presence of "amaranthus" (149), the immortal flower. Though the memorial flowers can give the poet only the illusionary ease and "false surmise" (153), they enable him to look toward the literal death of Lycidas. The picture of Lycidas' body hurled in the destructive sea not only permits the poet to confront the actual death of Lycidas for the last time, but also indicates the human

[1]Jon Lawry, "'Eager Thought': Dialectic in Lycidas," Milton: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Arthur Barker (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p.118.

weakness or temporality which man himself represents. Only then does the poet, through the acquired experience of the previous consolations, see his death and the inexplicable human suffering rested within eternity, that is, God's providential plan. And, at the same time, the poet understands that Lycidas' fame, like his death, is not subjected to destiny.

The water, which was the instrument of Lycidas' death, becomes the symbol of resurrection:

> So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high,
> Through the dear might of him that walked the waves.
> (172-73)

In the above passage, the poet shows no sign of doubt, but only his affirmed faith. Lycidas becomes a type of the faithful shepherd who, through his faith in Christ, dies into life. When Lycidas hears "the unexpressive nuptial song" (176), as one of the virgins, his fame is assured in heaven. He achieves eternal fame

> In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love.
> There entertain him all the saints above,
> In solemn troops and sweet societies
> That sing, and singing in their glory move,
> And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes. (177-81)

The societies to which Lycidas belongs offer the true pastoral life, like the one Adam and Eve enjoyed before the

Fall, and which is recovered from the loss through Christ and through those who put faith in Christ. Lycidas' recompense is to be "the Genius of the shore" (183), a guide of the faithful shepherds (poet-priests) to security founded on faith. He has set the pattern for others, who may perish on their way, but through faith will be allowed to share the rewards of victory with Lycidas.

The swain of the conclusion is the poet, who has confronted, received, and surmounted the experiences,[1] and is ready to be a Christian poet of Revelation. Guided by "the will of Heav'n," he is set to sing for the divine truth: "To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new" (193). And his poetic fame or his fame as an individual will rest in the "great Task-Master's eye." Milton is assured that God will bear witness to those who serve Him best with patience and faith:

> God doth not need
> Either man's work or his own gifts; who best
> Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best. His state
> Is kingly: thousands at his bidding speed,
> And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
> They also serve who only stand and wait.
>
> (Sonnet XIX)

[1]Ibid., p. 120.

Chapter 2

FAME IN PARADISE LOST

THE NEGATIVE VIEW OF FAME:
THE HEROIC TRADITION AND SECULAR FAME

Arthurian Knighthood

In Book IX of Paradise Lost, Milton rejects specious qualities of chivalric romance and defines in Christian terms a true heroic virtue necessary to attain heavenly fame:

> Wars, hitherto the only argument
> Heroic deemed, chief mast'ry to dissect
> With long and tedious havoc fabled knights
> In battles feigned (the better fortitude
> Of patience and heroic martyrdom
> Unsung).... (IX. 28-33)

By clearly distinguishing the secular from the Christian mode of heroism, he indicates that Christian heroism is "more heroic" (IX. 14) than the traditional conception of chivalric epic. The antithesis between the two modes of heroism seems obvious: secular and divine, falsehood and truth, violence and peace. These two contrasting modes of heroism are the keystone for a clear understanding of what Milton conceives to be the conception of false and secular fame.

The passage cited above especially reflects Milton's changing attitudes from his early poems toward the chivalric romance and the Arthurian legend. As he suggests in his early works, Milton had been fascinated by the chivalric romance. In "At a Vacation Exercise in the College," he indicates his interest in the "last of kings and queens and heroes old" (47). The youthful poet in "L'Allegro" (119-24) and "Il Penseroso" (116-20) briefly runs his imagination not only through the chivalric world, but also through the Spenserian world of romance. In both "Mansus" (81-84) and Epitaphium Damonis (161-78), Milton tells of his plan to write an Arthurian epic. Concerning the epic subject, he mentions in The Reason of Church Government that he is pondering over "what king or knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero."[1] Again, in An Apology for Smectymnuus, he shows that he

> betook [himself] among those lofty fables and romances which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all Christendom.[2]

Milton's intention of writing an epic based on the story of Arthur or on the chivalric romance culminates in his plan

[1] Prose Works, II, 478.

[2] Ibid., III, 118.

for the projected epic, Arthuriad. This poem, however, was never written. To find out the reason underlying his abandonment of Arthuriad and his subsequent rejection of Arthurian knighthood in Paradise Lost, it is necessary to delve into the seventeenth-century political conflict of the Saxons and the British concerning the national origin of England.

The revival of the Arthurian legend reached its climax when there arose a belief that the Tudor monarchs were to fulfill "the old prophecy of Merlin that Arthur would return, having never died, and reunite Britain."[1] It was then maintained that the nation was British in origin. However, the defenders of Parliament began to claim that "the Saxon origin of the nation was more plausible than the British," when the Tudors "intended to violate the fundamental doctrine of the people's rights by [their] insistence upon the Divine Right of kings."[2] The conflict between the Saxon and the British in regard to the origin of the nation is attributable to the political strife between the King and the Parliament. The authenticity of Arthur's origin was questioned, when the defenders of the Parliament became acquainted with the Saxon writings and made a verbal attack

[1]E. M. W. Tillyard, The Miltonic Setting: Past and Present (London: Chatto & Windus, 1949), p. 175.

[2]Roberta Brinkley, "Milton and the Arthurian Story," Arthurian Legend in the Seventeenth Century (Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 1932), pp. 26-27.

upon the British.[1]

It is plausible to believe that Milton, as a defender of the right of the common people, was anti-British in sentiment. In the History of Britain, he shows a skeptical attitude toward the historicity of Arthur. He maintains that Arthur is "more renowned in songs and romances, than in true stories" and also "who Arthur was, and whether ever any such reigned in Britain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason."[2] Then he goes on: "As to Arthur, no less is in doubt who was his father....And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance."[3] Thereafter, Milton shows his dissatisfaction with Arthur by pointing out that Arthur's achieved fame throughout the ages derived merely from the fable.[4] His former conviction to write an epic on Arthur was completely overturned, when he realized that his belief was based on the fable. What Milton believed in was truth:

> he who can accept of legends for good story,
> may quickly swell a volume with trash.[5]

His further comment that all early history is "obscured and

[1]Ibid., p. 26.

[2]Prose Works, V, 255, 258.

[3]Ibid., V, 259.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

blemished with fables"[1] led him into the rejection of the secular mode of heroism--whether epic or chivalric--and its false fame on earth. Milton then rested his belief on truth in the Bible. By questioning the authenticity of the Arthurian legend and of all the previous histories, he eliminated the secular heroism as reflecting false fame and gained insight into the Christian mode of heroism, which lays the pattern of achieving true fame.

It is then not surprising that Milton stresses in Paradise Lost fabulous qualities of the Arthurian legend: the Arthurian legend is filled with the story of "fabled knights/In battles feigned." In sharp contrast with the fabled and false heroes of the chivalric romance are the Christian heroes who suffered for "truth's sake" (XII. 569). Milton finds, both in Paradise Lost and in Paradise Regained, that the Son is the exemplary Christian hero who lays the pattern of "the better fortitude/Of patience and heroic martyrdom," and whose eternal fame is achieved in heaven by his true merit. The military prowess of Satan and the fallen angels is identified in Paradise Lost with that of the Arthurian knights. Milton compares the army of the fallen angels in Hell with

> what resounds
> In fable or romance of Uther's son

[1] Ibid., V, 164.

Begirt with British and Armoric knights (I. 579-81)

After the additional comparison of the fallen angels with the heroes of epic and romance, the diabolic army is shown to possess the might "beyond/Compare of mortal prowess" (I. 587-88). Here again, Milton carefully indicates that the Arthurian knighthood is renowned only in "fable or romance." The emphasis on the superior might of the fallen angels over all the prowess of the secular heroes reveals that the former also excel in falsehood. It is important to notice here that Milton's emphasis falls on the strength or the violent aspect of the fallen angels and Arthurian knighthood in both Books I and IX cited above. The fortitude of the fallen angels becomes a parody of "the better fortitude/Of patience and heroic martyrdom." As the military prowess of the Arthurian knights is based on fables, so, too, is the fortitude of the fallen angels based on falsehood. Just as the former is renowned in fables, the latter's fame is false. Milton here questions the validity of secular fame based on military prowess by making it a parody of true fame founded on "the better fortitude."

Furthermore, the spurious quality of Arthurian knighthood still adds to Milton's negative attitude toward false fame. The chivalric romance is contingent on the description of

races and games,

Or tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,

> Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
> Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
> At joust and tournament; then marshaled feast
> Served up in hall with sewers and seneschals;
> The skill of artifice or office mean....
>
> (IX. 33-39)

These indicate merely the pretension of the fortitude lacking in substance of true heroic virtues. The reliance on the materialistic aspect (i.e., arms, feasts, and pomp) is the distinctive features of secular heroes, and parodies or forms a contrast with the naked reliance on God characterized by the Christian heroes.

In both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, secular fame based on military might and materialistic glory is shown as the pattern of negative fame exemplified by Satan and the fallen angels. In Paradise Regained, Milton employs the Arthurian and chivalric romance to describe the diabolic banquet. In Paradise Lost, his description of the material pomp of the fallen angels recalls one of the spurious qualities of the Arthurian and chivalric epic:

> Th' imperial ensign, which full high advanced
> Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,
> With gems and golden luster rich emblazed,
> Seraphic arms and trophies. (I. 536-39)

Thus, by indicating that Arthurian knighthood is renowned only in fables, and emphasizing its outward aspect

of pomp and prowess, Milton reveals the false standard of secular fame. Moreover, Satan and the fallen angels parody the pattern of achieving true fame by embodying and excelling the false standard of Arthurian knighthood. Milton's dissatisfaction with the authenticity of Arthur finally led him to consider Arthurian knighthood as reflecting the false view of fame.

Ecclesiastical Fame in the "Paradise of Fools"

In Paradise Lost, Milton presents the "Paradise of Fools" while Satan is journeying through Chaos to the Earth for the temptation of man. The insertion of "this windy sea of land" (III. 440) called the "Paradise of Fools" here is intended to predict the effect of Satan's future crime. The inhabitants of this land--the biblical men of renown, the builders of Babel, Gentile philosophers, embryos, idiots, eremites, pilgrims, and friars--are to be born after the Fall of man. They all put trust in their own worth and seek fame in earthly terms. Milton here expresses "the vanity of human merits."[1]

However, Milton's major target of attack is placed mainly on those who seek ecclesiastical fame on earth:

> they who to be sure of Paradise,
> Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,

[1]John Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 148.

Or in Franciscan think of pass disguised;

.....

And now Saint Peter at heav'n's wicket seems
To wait them with his keys, and now at foot
Of heav'n's ascent they lift their feet, when lo!
A violent cross wind from either coast
Blows them transverse ten thousand leagues awry
Into the devious air; then might ye see
Cowls, hoods and habits with their wearers tossed
And fluttered into rags; then relics, beads,
Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
The sport of winds. (III. 478-80, 484-93)

Here, Milton is anti-Catholic in sentiment. The clergy's "deeds" (III. 454) and "reward on earth" (III. 451) are "transitory and vain" (III. 446), because their ecclesiastical practices are based on disguises and falsehood. Their commitment to outward and visible objects reveals their reliance on forms devoid of truth and meaning. Hence, their deeds and merits are light and empty; and they are blown upward with their disguises and trumperies. Since they are "th' unaccomplished works of Nature's hand" (III. 455), they cannot resist the force of wind. The images of wind signify their worthlessness and nothingness. Moreover, the clergy's falsehood is built on "their fond hopes of glory or lasting fame" (III. 449). They commit the sin of vanity and pride by relying on their own merits that are false and worthless,

or burlesque in the sight of God. Their inverted aspiration is the antithesis or a parody of the pattern of achieving true fame--humiliation and exaltation. Unable to seek the glory of God, they seek their glory. Unable to be faithful and obedient to God, they rely on themselves. The images of weight in the "Paradise of Fools" indicate that their merits are "like aeriäl vapors" (III. 445), light and empty. The ascent of friars and priests parodies the true ascent, exaltation, as their earthly reward is a caricature of heavenly reward.

The ecclesiastics in the "Paradise of Fools" anticipate Michael's future prophecy on the worldly corruption of the churches in Book XII:

> Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves,
> Who all the sacred mysteries of heav'n
> To their own vile advantages shall turn
> Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
> With superstitions and traditions taint,
> Left only in those written records pure,
> Though not but by the Spirit understood.
> Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
> Places and titles, and with these to join
> Secular power, though feigning still to act
> By spiritual, to themselves appropriating
> The Spirit of God, promised alike and giv'n
> To all believers; and from that pretense,

> Spiritual laws by carnal power shall force
> On every conscience; laws which none shall find
> Left them enrolled, or what the Spirit within
> Shall on the heart engrave. (XII. 508-24)

Like the deeds of the clergy in the "Paradise of Fools," the ecclesiastical practices after the Fall are subordinated to outward forms of disguises and falsehood; and the falsehood stands for truth. Just as the former seek their glory and fame by building up falsehood, the latter, too, aspire after fame by replacing the spiritual laws with specious objects. Michael uses the epithet, "wolves" for the corrupted clergy. This recalls Satan as a "wolf" (IV. 183) that hunts for flocks when he enters Paradise. This use of epithet has an extended meaning:[1] Satan's attempt to corrupt Paradise by tempting man parallels the clergy's practices against those of the faithful shepherds.[2]

The corrupted clergy of the "Paradise of Fools" and of Book XI follow the pattern of Satan. Satan is "the author of all ill" (II. 381) and was "the first/That practised falsehood under saintly show" (IV. 121-22). "Through guile

[1]The epithet "wolf" is a traditional term of abuse in anti-Catholic writings. See Bush's notes in Lycidas in The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton, p. 146.

[2]In Lycidas, when Milton attacks Anglican clergy in support of the faithful, he uses the epithets, "wolf" (128) and "the faithful herdman" (121).

the Devil begets evil on good."[1] He practices evil and brings it to the world, and the corrupted clergy are his followers. By aspiring to be equal to God, he is punished in the form of a serpent. He builds specious objects (e.g., cannon, Pandemonium), which are devoid of spiritual truth. He embodies the "Semblance of worth, not substance" (I. 529), and parodies the Son's redemptive mission in building the spiritual kingdom.

Thus, Satan embodies all the false virtues which the clergy inherited--falsehood, hypocrisy, pride, vainglory, vanity. He brings all these false virtues or standards to the world, and the ecclesiastics succumb to his parodic ways by neglecting God's grace. Milton implies in the passages of the "Paradise of Fools" that Satan himself is susceptible to enter the "Limbo of Vanity."[2] The ecclesiastical practices are a parody of the prayers of Adam and Eve before the Fall. The corrupted clergy under the saintly show practice falsehood (XII. 515-20) and seek glory for themselves putting trust in their vain worth: Adam and Eve seek the glory of God in obedience and with faith. Milton expresses mainly in the "Paradise of Fools," the conception of reward (or punishment) for the ecclesiastics who seek secular fame by

[1]Frank Huntley, "A Justification of Milton's 'Paradise of Fools,'" ELH, XXI (1954), 110.

[2]Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero, p. 149.

practising falsehood. The rewards offered to the false clergy afford a parody and a negative clarification of true fame.

Epic Heroism: Satan and the Fallen Angels as Negative Exempla

Milton discredits, in Paradise Lost, the traditional view of fame by casting Satan and the fallen angels into the mold of epic heroism. The fallen angels are credited with many of the conventional attributes of the epic heroes, but Satan excels them showing a heroic eminence:

> He above the rest
> In shape and gesture proudly eminent....
> (I. 589-90)

His courage, will, ingenuity, and strength surpass those of the fallen angels and the epic heroes. Milton, however, gradually diminishes the heroic portrait of Satan until finally he and the rest of the fallen angels are transformed into serpents. Satan's gradual loss of heroic grandeur is accompanied by his spiritual degeneration. The heroic values of Satan and the fallen angels are based on disobedience and separation from God. They are placed in direct opposition to the Christian heroic values primarily manifested in the Son--obedience and the right relationship with God. Milton deliberately endows Satan and the fallen angels with the virtues of epic heroes to repudiate the accepted standard of epic heroism as reflecting the false concept of fame. Since

Satan and the fallen angels lack inner virtues necessary for the Christian heroes, their poise of grandeur appears heroic merely in pretense without substance or meaning. Satan, excelling other fallen angels in heroic eminence, surpasses them in pretense. His false heroic grandeur is a parody of the true glory of God and the Son. By trying to imitate the Highest, he shows only a superficial resemblance to Him. Satan's infinite aspiration upward merely makes him a burlesque imitation of God and the Son. Milton throws into bolder relief the Son's perfect image of divine virtue by parodying it in Satan's pseudo-heroism. His parodic stance (and the fallen angels') under the guise of epic heroes serves to clarify Milton's view of secular fame.

Milton represents Satan and the fallen angels in a manner consistent with epic decorum. The infernal council, the War in Heaven, the fallen angels' activities in games, Satan's journey, the conception of an enterprise against God and man--all these are the conventional attributes of the classical epic. Furthermore, the pattern of events--the strategic alliances, infiltration of enemy territory, defeats of its inhabitants, and returning triumphantly to the native city for the report of victory--parallels that of the traditional epic enterprise.[1] Milton shows that these are

[1]John Steadman, "The Classical Hero: Satan and Ulysses," Milton's Epic Characters: Image and Idol (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 201.

the outward manifestation of the inward disorder applicable to the epic heroes. The striking affinities between Satan and the fallen angels and their mortal counterparts are the psychological aspects which are manifested in their pattern of deeds. Most important is the concern of the epic heroes for honor and glory exemplified in the fallen crew.

Satan is the instigator of revolt and causes the fall of the unfaithful angels. By following Satan and by not perceiving God's way, the fallen angels begin to see things from the perverted view of Satan. The cause of Satan's revolt lies in his envy of the Son--"sense of injured merit" (I. 98)--who is anointed and declared by right the Son of God. Michael tells Adam of Satan's first revolt, and his envy and ambition: Satan was

> great in power
> In favor, and pre-eminence, yet fraught
> With envy against the Son of God, that day
> Honored by his great Father, and proclaimed
> Messiah, King anointed, could not bear
> Through pride that sight, and thought himself impaired.
> Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,
> Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour
> Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolved
> With all his legions to dislodge, and leave
> Unworshiped, unobeyed, the throne supreme....
>
> (V. 660-70)

Satan, through pride and ambition, violates and inverts the order of God. He appeals to his followers that they should be free from the servitude toward God:

> At first I thought that liberty and heav'n
> To heav'nly souls had been all one; but now
> I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
> Minist'ring Spirits, trained up in feast and song;
> Such hast thou armed, the minstrelsy of heav'n,
> Servility with freedom to contend. (VI. 164-69)

He further maintains that he and his followers "style/The strife of glory.../Or turn [the] heav'n itself into the hell/...here however to dwell free,/If not to reign" (VI. 289-93). According to Satan, the revolt of the fallen angels is worthy "not of liberty alone" (VI. 420), but more of "Honor, dominion, glory, and renown" (VI. 422). His argument is based on the "counterfeited truth" (V. 771). He speaks of a parody of God's glory and kingdom by misinterpreting the rational liberty of the angels or the right reason with liberty God has provided for them. His appeal to parodic liberty and glory derives from his choice of disobedience to God. By misusing his freedom to choose (disobedience), Satan loses the full and right use of his faculties. The result is inward servitude to passion--hatred, envy, despair, ire--and the loss of outward liberty, which comes to be manifested as tyranny or usurpation. Hence, he is unable to perceive that freedom and glory can be attained

by praising God aright. Likewise, the fallen angels, by obeying Satan, become servile both to Satan and to themselves.

Satan's glory-seeking motives for revolt parallel the motives for great deeds of the classical epic heroes. C. M. Bowra summarizes the characteristics of the epic (Homeric) hero and his heroic world:

> The heroic world holds nothing so important as the prowess and fame of the individual hero. The single man...surpasses others in strength and courage. His chief, almost his only, aim is to win honour and renown through his achievements and to be remembered for them after his death. He is ruthless to any who frustrate or deride him. In his more than human strength he seems to be cut off from the intercourse of common men and consorts with a few companions only less noble than himself....What matters is his prowess. Even morality hardly concerns him; for he lives in a world where what counts is not morality but honour....It is the reflection of men's desire to be in the last degree themselves, to satisfy their ambitions in lives of abundant adventure, to be greater than other men in their superior gifts, and to be bound by no obligation except to do their uttermost in valour and endurance. If they succeeded, such men

> were thought to be comparable almost to gods.... His [the hero's] aim is not ease but glory, and glory makes exacting demands. A man who is willing to give his life for it wins the respect of his fellows, and when he makes his last sacrifice, they honour him.[1]

Satan and the fallen angels duplicate the above situation. Satan, who excels others, is an exemplar of the epic heroes. To win honor and fame, he uses forces in the War of Heaven. The fallen angels, possessing strength "beyond/Compare of mortal prowess" (I. 587-88), are also exempla of the epic heroes. Among them, Satan, swelling "with pride, and hard'ning in his strength" (I. 572), shows the sign of "dauntless courage" (I. 603) and "unconquerable will" (I. 106). By offering himself as a volunteer to undertake the temptation of man, he earns honor and praise from his crew. They extol him

> as a god
> ...equal to the Highest in heav'n.
> Nor failed they to express how much they praised.
> (II. 478-80)

His hazardous journey to the Earth is the test of his strength, endurance, and courage.

[1]C. M. Bowra, From Virgil to Milton (London: Macmillan, 1948), pp. 9-10.

This aspect of Satan's self-sufficiency is further strengthened by his claim that he is "self-begot" and "self-raised/by [his] own quick'ning power" (V. 860-61). Like most epic heroes, Satan is not only Stoic in his self-contained attitude, but also an "Aristotle's magnanimous man"[1] who is "Conscious of [his] highest worth" (II. 429). He is also an isolated figure: he takes "solitary flight" (II. 632) to the Earth. His soliloquy in the presence of "the full-blazing sun" (IV. 29) shows that he admits his guilt. Here, Satan is given a chance to return to God. But because of his "dread of shame/Among the Spirits beneath" (IV. 82-83), he regains his "courage never to submit or yield" (I. 108). He cannot perceive that God is accommodating him through the sun in order that he may realize his parodic stance or his degeneration. He misreads the sign God has provided for him.[2] In every way, Satan parodies the Son's deeds based on his obedience to God. Satan's strength, courage, endurance, his voluntary act, and his self-reliance are kinds of self-glorification and

[1]Margaret Greaves, The Blazon of Honour: A Study in Renaissance Magnanimity (London: Methuen, 1964), p. 104.

[2]See Lynn Sadler, "Regeneration and Typology: Samson Agonistes and Its Relation to De Doctrina Christiana, Paradise Lost, and Paradise Regained," Studies in English Lit., XII (1972), 151.

"caricature"[1] of the Son's choice and deeds, which are the reflection of his right understanding of God's way.

Milton invests Satan not only with the characteristic features of the typical epic hero, but also with the individual attributes of the Homeric and Virgilian heroes. The dominant attributes of Achilles and Turnus--their godlike strength, their sense of honor, and their courage[2]--are exemplified in Satan. Satan's aspiration "to equal God in power" (VI. 343) subsumes and excels that of his mortal counterparts. We have already seen that the strength of the fallen angels is superior to that of the epic heroes (I. 573-89). The army of the fallen angels is shown with full glory

such as raised
To highth of noblest temper heroes old
Arming to battle, and...
Deliberate valor breathed, firm and unmoved.
(I. 551-54)

Michael tells Adam of the character of fortitude attributed to Satan and the fallen angels:

For strength from truth divided and from just,

[1]Ibid., p. 152.

[2]Davis Harding, The Club of Hercules: Studies in the Classical Background of Paradise Lost (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1962), p. 46, 50; Bowra, p. 44. Milton makes allusions to Achilles and Turnus in Book IX (14-17) as a less heroic type of heroes than the Christian heroes. The identification of Satan with both figures seems obvious.

> Illaudable, naught merits but dispraise
> And ignominy, yet to glory aspires
> Vainglorious, and through infamy seeks fame.
>
> (VI. 381-84)

The fallen crew measure all by strength (VI. 820-21). Like Achilles and Turnus, or other epic heroes, they maintain physical power only, divorced from inner fortitude. Strength is a means to attain fame, which is a mere manifestation of vainglory. The heroic valor of Satan and the fallen angels based on disobedience, apostasy, and pride is pretense against the reality of the Son's fortitude based on obedience, faith, and humility. Satan's strength maintained by self-glorification is a parody of the Son's divine strength upheld by his glorification of God. The Son glorifies God and is given the glory of his Father: Satan and the fallen angels seek glorification of themselves and are doomed to destruction.

Satan employs fraud as well as force to seek glory and kingdom. After failing in power to equal God, he resorts to fraud for revenge and continuously uses disguises, deceptions, and ruses to achieve his purpose. "In the classical epic guile and valor are not always contradictory qualities. Odysseus possesses both attributes...."[1] Milton raises Satan's heroic qualities by investing him with these

[1]Steadman, Milton's Epic Characters, p. 201.

conventional heroic virtues of might and guile. He compares the hardship of Satan's voyage from Chaos to the Earth with Odysseus' laborious voyages through the straits of Scylla and Charybdis (II. 1017-20). Again in Book IX (441), he refers to Odysseus just before Satan tempts Eve. These comparisons indicate that Milton obviously had Odysseus in mind when he described Satan's use of fraud to accomplish his enterprise. The resemblance between Satan and Odysseus lies in that both are the masters of "ignoble disguise."[1] Odysseus disguises as a beggar not only to enter his house undetected, but also to enter Troy. Likewise, Satan assumes the form of animals not only to enter Paradise undetected, but also to overtake "the happy garden" (PR, I. 1).[2]

To be as fraudulent as Satan and Odysseus, one needs to be intelligent and shrewd. Satan's abilities to persuade his followers and to find the suitable disguises in particular circumstances are the sign of his intelligence and shrewdness. Besides, he carefully chooses with "meditated fraud" (IX. 55) the serpent form as an instrument to tempt man. This quality of Satan is compatible with the classical notion of heroic prudence, and Odysseus is the exemplary

[1]Ibid., p. 203.

[2]Ibid., pp. 194-208.

hero of this virtue.[1] By investing Satan with the Odysseus-like prudence, Milton distinguishes true prudence or wisdom from false prudence or guile. With his disobedience to God, and thence the loss of the rational functioning of his faculties, Satan begins to form fallacious reasonings devoid of piety or the right virtue. His intelligence or shrewdness springs from the distortions or perversions of his imagination, will, and intellect, or each of his faculties subduing his right reason. The prudence or the perverted intellect of Satan and Odysseus is consistent with the classical virtues of Stoic self-sufficiency or pride. Just as Odysseus is confident in his prudence, Satan self-glorifies himself by stressing that he has gained knowledge by experience.

Milton indicates that the classical notion of prudence is false because it is divorced from the right virtue necessary to gain true wisdom. He "makes piety his touchstone in distinguishing between true heroic [prudence] and its counterfeit resemblance."[2] As in the case of fortitude, Satan assumes heroic posture by using fraud as a means to equal God:

> To me shall be the glory sole among
> The infernal Powers, in one day to have marred

[1]Ibid., p. 203.

[2]Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero, p. 45.

> What he, Almighty styled, six nights and days
> Continued making.... (IX. 135-38)

Satan's wisdom creates evil out of good (I. 158-59; IX. 129-30) in contrast to God "whose wisdom had ordained/Good out of evil to create" (VII. 187-88). His use of wisdom in the enterprise against man proves to be little more than subtlety divorced from true virtue. He is merely an "Artificer of fraud" who practices "falsehood under saintly show" (IV. 121-22). Milton discredits the traditional view of wisdom by parodying good or God's wisdom in evil or Satan's guile. Satan's glorification of evil seems burlesque in the eyes of God.

The Son is the exemplar and an image of God's true wisdom. He is crowned with "majesty divine, sapience and love/Immense, and all his Father in him shone" (VII. 195-96). His major task is to recreate what Adam has forfeited. Raphael tells Adam that "to create/Is greater than created to destroy" (VII. 606-07). As the Son declares in Paradise Regained, wisdom is bestowed on those who are faithful or who respond correctly to God's accommodation:

> He who receives
> Light from above, from the Fountain of Light,
> No other doctrine needs.... (PR, IV. 288-90)

The intellectual pursuits of the fallen angels in the epic games are Stoic in character, and they anticipate the exercise of the Gentile philosophers after the Fall. Since

the fallen angels are devoid of piety and blind to the way to right reason, their philosophy is no more than the "vain wisdom" (II. 565) based on self-glorification. As has been stated above, Satan, a Stoic character, thinks that he has gained further confidence or knowledge through the testing of courage, endurance, and valor. Though his subjection to passion through inner disorder seems incompatible with the virtues of Stoics, there is no inconsistency in the character of Satan, who is an exemplar of the epic hero. Like Satan, Aeneas, who gains classical prudence and foresight through experience, is a Stoic character, but succumbs to passions and shows the sign of inner disorder, despair, or passion.[1] Satan's address to the sun in Book IV parallels Aeneas' effort to conceal his own despair from his comrades.[2] Milton shows that it is because of Satan's Stoic pride and self-sufficiency that he feels passion in himself, or vice versa. As has been shown, Satan's spiritual confusion or loss of rational liberty is the sign or the result of his disobedience to God. Milton conveys Satan's spiritual degeneration and its outward manifestation in his physical appearance:

> each passion dimmed his face
> Thrice changed with pale ire, envy, and despair,

[1]Bowra, p. 65.

[2]Ibid., p. 228. Bowra adds that Milton's use of simile when he describes Satan meeting Death recalls the simile Virgil uses to convey the appearance of Aeneas (X. 272-75).

> Which marred his borrowed visage, and betrayed
> Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld. (IV. 114-17)

Although there is no explicit reference to Aeneas in the description of Satan, it is likely that Milton meant to employ the character development of Aeneas to discredit Satan's epic figure. In Satan, Aeneas, and Odysseus-like qualities, we find an inadequacy of Stoic wisdom based on self-glory and aspiration for fame.

In Satan and the fallen angels, Milton displays and rejects by the method of parody the whole conception of epic heroism--sapientia et fortitudo--as a means of self-glorification and renown. The classical view of fame based on parodic wisdom and valor serves as a negative clarification of true Christian fame. Milton's denial of epic heroism and its concept of fame is clearly seen in Satan's heroic stance, gradually diminishing until he is transformed into a serpent. In the beginning, Satan is still an "Archangel ruined," whose "excess/Of glory [is] obscured" (I. 593-94). In his encounter with Zephon, Satan already resembles his "sin and place of doom obscure and foul" (IV. 839-40). When he assumes the form of serpent, he is already near his doom to be a serpent: "so much hath hell debased, and pain/Enfeebled me, to what I was in heav'n" (IX. 487-88). When Satan is transformed into a serpent, he receives punishment for his sin:

> he stood, expecting
> Their universal shout and high applause
> To fill his ear, when contrary he hears
> On all sides from innumerable tongues
> A dismal universal hiss, the sound
> Of public scorn.... (X. 504-09)

He is "punished in the shape he sinned,/According to his doom" (X. 516-17) and, instead of universal glory or fame, receives "universal hiss." Milton implies here that the fame of the epic heroes merely deserves a "hiss" rather than praise. The "hiss" or fame of the epic heroes proves ridiculous before God.

Satan's "triumph" ends in "shame" (X. 546) contrary to the Son's triumph of humiliation in Paradise Regained. Satan himself realizes this in Book IV:

> they little know
> How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
> Under what torments inwardly I groan;
> While they adore me on the throne of hell,
> With diadem and scepter high advanced,
> The lower still I fall, only supreme
> In misery; such joy ambition finds. (IV. 86-92)

However, Satan is blind, the one who cannot understand or is unwilling to perceive the way of God. Though he realizes his degenerated state in Paradise, he continues to think that he has triumphed over God through revenge until he

receives punishment. The fallen angels, too, receive the same punishment and are to be the idols of the heathen world. Satan and the fallen angels who, through rebellion, have sought fame and glory by trusting in their valor and wisdom, relying on their own merits, and boasting their deeds, set the pattern of the earthly way to achieve fame. For Milton, the epic heroes exemplified in the fallen crew represent the negative pattern of fame, whereby men after the Fall may be warned of their sinful state or isolation from God and clear their senses to respond correctly to God's grace, an invitation to true fame.

Biblical "Men of Renown": Satan and the Fallen Angels

Michael's account in Book XI of the world's first heroes, "men of renown," who are born from the union of the "sons of God" and the "daughters of men" (Genesis 6:4) provides the pattern of "human glory" (XI, 694) and fame founded on "valor" (XI. 690) and "might" (XI. 659). The heroic virtue of the biblical giants, the "men of renown," consists of valor or might alone. Their valor is displayed by overcoming "in battle, and subduing/Nations, and bringing home spoils with infinite/Manslaughter" (XI. 691-93): they are, if "rightlier called," the "Destroyers" (XI. 697). They fulfill their ambition for glory by receiving the titles, "great conquerors,/Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods" (XI. 695-96), or the "men of renown" on earth.

Milton presents in Satan and the fallen angels in Paradise Lost the concept of human fame based on the whole heroic tradition of military prowess and might. The fallen angels are the prototypes not only of the epic and the chivalric heroes, but also of the biblical giants. The characteristics of the biblical giants are applicable to those of Satan and his followers. Milton refers Satan and his crew to "the giant angels" (VII. 605), an epithet which seems to derive from the word "Nephilim" (Genesis 6:4) for the biblical giants.[1] Aside from the translation of Nephilim as giants, the word means assailants and the violent, and comes from a root meaning, falling, assailing, or hurling.[2] The interpretation of Nephilim to mean both "giants" and "falling" fits the epithet, "the giant angels," for the fallen angels. It is shown from the translation of the word Nephilim that both "the giant angels" and the biblical giants possess the aspect of violence. Like the fallen angels, who measure all by strength (VI. 820-21) in the War in Heaven, the exploits of the biblical giants are shown in violence and war. Like Satan, who "find[s] ease"

[1]Steadman, in "'Men of Renown': Heroic Virtue and the Biblical Giants," Milton's Epic Characters, p. 183, states that the use of the epithet seems to involve two other sources: (1) the giants of classical mythology who rebelled against the gods; (2) an exegetical interpretation that the two Old Testament words for giants (anakim and rephaim) designate devils also.

[2]Ibid., p. 180, pp. 183-84.

"only in destroying" (IX. 129) and is "the author of all ill" (II. 381), the giants are both the "Destroyers" and the "plagues of men" (XI. 697). The assembly of the giants in the council (XI. 661 ff.) is reminiscent of the devils' council in Hell. The heroic virtue of the two groups is grounded on the physical strength which lacks the inner virtues of the faithful heroes. Like the fallen angels, the giants' inability to perceive their sinful state comes to be manifested outwardly in the pattern of their violent deeds.

The motive of the fallen ones and the giants is to gain false titles equal to God. The biblical giants, the "men of renown" on earth, are titled as "gods," just as the fallen angels are renowned and worshiped as "idols" (I. 375) in the heathen world. Milton points out that the violent deeds of the two groups are disproportionate to the titles they beget. Before God's presence, the exploits of the "men of renown" are as vain as their titles. Just as Satan's claim to the "magnific titles" (V. 773) results in the imitation of the title offered to the Son, the human merits and the earthly titles or fame of the giants are parodic of the heavenly merits and exaltation of the Son.

The giants are only worthy to be called fools in the "Paradise of Fools." Milton represents in the "men of renown" the concept of earthly fame founded on might in order to stress the true way to achieve fame exhibited by the faithful heroes whose "fame in silence hid" (XI. 699). He

throws into relief the creative and peaceful deeds which merit heavenly fame by parodying them in destructive and violent deeds which receive human praise. The pattern of true fame is set by the Son and attainable

> Without ambition, war, or violence;
> By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
> By patience, temperance. (PR, III. 90-92)

The "men of renown" are the followers of Satan and the fallen angels and become the prototype of false heroic virtues and fame for the oncoming worldly heroes and conquerors.

THE POSITIVE VIEW OF FAME

Abdiel

Milton's interpretation of true fame is reflected in the portrayal of Abdiel, who, in his encounter with Satan, undergoes the test of faith and obedience and proves his right response to God as the "Servant of God" (VI. 29). At the assembly of Satan and his host in Books V and VI of Paradise Lost, Abdiel is placed in a situation wherein he can freely choose to obey either God or Satan by perceiving or totally neglecting God's Providence. When he chooses to obey God by perceiving His ways and discerning the falsehood or the parodic evil of Satan, he becomes the pivotal figure for both the good and the evil angels. By acting on faith when he is free to choose, Abdiel makes an exemplary choice.

He not only presents an opportunity for the evil angels to discern Satan's falsehood by elucidating and representing the right response to God's way, but also stands out among the good angels in his tested faith against error or the pattern of wrong choice. The choice of evil angels to follow Satan is made through their ambition for glory, and thus their inability to perceive God's Providence, which results in infamy and shame. Abdiel stands in sharp contrast to Satan and his host when he earns heavenly fame by choosing to seek the glory of God through faith in His Providence. Like the Son in Paradise Regained, he is "the true warfaring Christian" who comes to grips with evil, perceives God's way, distinguishes truth from falsehood, and fights for "truth's sake":

> He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian.[1]

Against Satan's fallacious argument that the exaltation of the Son among his peers is the violation of their freedom and that to serve God is to contend with servitude, Abdiel refutes this, perceiving that Satan's conception of servitude is "from the path of truth remote" (VI. 173):

[1]Areopagitica, Prose Works, II, 68.

> Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
> Of servitude to serve whom God ordains,
> Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,
> When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
> Them whom he governs. (VI. 174-78)

He then defines servitude to which Satan and the fallen angels submit:

> This is servitude,
> To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebelled
> Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,
> Thyself not free, but to thyself enthralled.
> (VI. 178-81)

Abdiel elucidates on the rational liberty of the angels which is turned into servitude and blindness, or unwillingness to respond to God's way, if their faculties are upset through ambition or disobedience. Likewise, he affirms that all beings are free when they are in perfect harmony with the highest order God ordains. Then, He will "exalt/ [their] happy state under one head more near/United" (V. 829-31). Servitude lies in the violation of God's plan and order through ambition and disobedience. Satan, in his disobedience, is incapable or unwilling to read His way and succumbs to his own pride and ambition to which he himself serves. His argument that, since he is "self-begot" and "self-raised" (V. 860), he is equal to God is parodic of Abdiel's understanding that everyone should pay the right

response and gratitude to God's way, for He made and defined all in such a way that man represents His image through faith.

Perceiving, rejecting, and revealing Satan's fallaciousness, Abdiel distinguishes truth from falsehood. He discloses Satan's falsehood by asserting that he is "blasphémous, false, and proud" (V. 809), "Unsound" (VI. 121), "Apostate" (VI. 172), and unjust (VI. 174). Fighting for the truth, he lays the pattern of achieving fame for others to follow. His statement that "His laws our laws, all honor to him done/Returns our own" (V. 844-45) parallels the Son's remark in Paradise Regained: "...who advance his glory, not their own,/Then he himself to glory will advance" (III. 143-44). Abdiel's understanding of God's way, like the Son's, proves the right functioning of his faculties and thus his willingness to respond through faith in Him. Both Abdiel and the Son rightly verify their understanding through tested faith.

Against Satanic strength, "fearless...alone/Encompassed round with foes" (V. 875-76), Abdiel exhibits exemplary heroic fortitude through faith, constancy, and zeal:[1]

> the Seraph Abdiel faithful found,
> Among the faithless, faithful only he;
> Among innumerable false unmoved,

[1]See Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero, p. 66.

> Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
> His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
> Nor number nor example with him wrought
> To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
> Though single. (V. 896-903)

Abdiel puts forth his heroic zeal or his physical and spiritual constancy against falsehood in his willingness to stand alone before God in firm and perfect faith, fearless against the numerous unfaithful angels. His spiritual fortitude is manifested in his physical fortitude against terror: "...he who in debate of truth hath won/Should win in arms" (VI. 122-23).

In Book III, God indicates His way of accommodation by stressing man's and angel's free will to stand or fall:

> Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
> Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere
> Of true allegiance, constant faith or love....
> (III. 102-04)

Though "free to fall" (III. 99), Abdiel proves faith and the right response to God, who has accommodated him in order to evoke the right response. His faith becomes a pattern of humiliation on earth which meets God's approval and merits ultimate exaltation. In the eyes of the world, Abdiel is "Judged...perverse" (VI. 37) and is given "Universal reproach" (VI. 34) for "the testimony of truth" (VI. 33), though he stands "approved in sight of God" (VI. 36). In

earthly terms, he appears a mere coward who fears to revolt against the tyrant: in heavenly terms, he is the true "Servant of God" and the hero of faith who, with single boldness, fights in "word" for "the cause/Of truth" (VI. 31-32).

Abdiel is perfectly aware not only of the merits and rewards of the faithful, but also of the falsehood and punishment of the apostates. His prophecy on the doom of Satan and his host stands in contrast with the heavenly rewards bestowed upon Abdiel from God:

> O alienate from God, O Spirit accurst,
> Forsaken of all good! I see thy fall
> Determined, and thy hapless crew involved
> In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread
> Both of thy crime and punishment. Henceforth
> No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
> Of God's Messiah; those indulgent laws
> Will not be now vouchsafed; other decrees
> Against thee are gone forth without recall;
> That golden scepter which thou didst reject
> Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
> Thy disobedience. (V. 877-88)

Abdiel's prophecy prefigures the Son's act of redemption as well as the Judgment in Revelation: the eternal punishment on those who commit fornication with the great whore of Babylon and the reward for the faithful who suffer "for truth's sake" by putting their faith in the act of Christ's

faith.[1] Furthermore, Abdiel's exemplary choice and the act of faith prelude those of the Old Testament heroes, Enoch and Noah, as well as the Son's "heroic martyrdom."

The Son

Both in Paradise Lost and in Paradise Regained, Milton presents the Son as an ultimate hero who sets the exemplary "pattern of an action"[2] which merits ultimate fame. Though in the latter poem, Milton's emphasis obviously falls on the human nature of the Son as the "Suffering Servant," the Son in Paradise Lost acts at first as the divine agent of God--the divine warrior, the intercessor between man and God, and the deputy for the creation of the new world. Performing his appointed tasks through ultimate faith and filial obedience for the glory of God, he manifests at once God's purpose and the perfect image of His Glory. Then the Son completes his heroic role by offering himself as a promised redeemer or by voluntarily submitting himself

[1]George Whiting, in "Abdiel and the Prophet Abdias," Studies in Philology, LX (1963), 225-26, states that Abdiel's prophetic role is similar to the role of the prophet Abdias in the Old Testament. Drawing parallel with Abdias and Abdiel, Edom and Satan, he sums up: "Aiming at universal truth, Milton, it seems, raised Abdias's oracle from the historical or legendary to the absolute and spiritual plane. He converted the Hebraic prophecy of vengeance upon a specific tribe (Edom, implacable enemies of Israel and type of the world, the flesh, and the devil) into the fervent Seraph's prophecy of the doom of Satan and his rebels, the enemies of God and man...."

[2]See Sadler, "Regeneration and Typology," p. 144.

to assume the form of servant for the redemption of mankind.

In reality, as Milton defines true Christian heroism in Book IX as "the better fortitude/Of patience and heroic martyrdom," he emphasizes this latter aspect of the Son as the promised redeemer. Again in Book XII, Adam learns from Michael that "suffering for truth's sake/Is fortitude to highest victory" (XII. 569-70). In opposition with the parodic counterpart of physical fortitude embodied in Satan, Milton delineates the two virtuous modes of genuine fortitude manifested in the Son: "(1) the active fortitude tempered by reason and piety and (2) the passive and 'better fortitude' of patience."[1] In the War in Heaven, the Son as the divine agent of God conquers Satan with the active virtues of "courage and steadfastness"[2] transfused from and supported by God. The Son's voluntary offering of himself for sacrifice is the manifestation of his passive virtues, for he assumes the state of humiliation by deliberately renouncing his glory as the Son of God to take up the form of servant and becomes the potential redeemer. Milton ensures but delineates the active and passive fortitude in the Son's pattern of action. The Son becomes the perfect Christian hero when his active mode of heroism is

[1]Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero, p. 32.

[2]Burton Kurth, Milton and Christian Heroism: Biblical Epic Theme and Forms in Seventeenth-Century England (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1929), p. 27.

finally completed by his passive fortitude.

By the clear separation of the Son's active virtues from the passive ones, Milton conveys the image of the Son as God's Justice and Mercy. The heavenly War itself is a prefiguration of the Last Judgment in Revelation, and in both cases the Son demonstrates his active fortitude, acting as the divine judge who punishes the wicked. The Son fulfills the image of God's Justice with Mercy by volunteering for sacrifice and by exercising his passive virtues in the human form. Through his right choice and act based on his faith in God, or through his correct response to God's grace or accommodation, the Son sets the exemplary pattern of merits, which allows man the possibility to imitate as well as to be saved, and which precedes the ultimate exaltation of the Son and the faithful in Revelation. Thus the possibility arises for the faithful to execute with the Son divine justice on the wicked. Milton's emphasis falls on the "better fortitude" of patience exemplified in the passive virtues of the Son, for his response, choice, and act themselves provide the chance for any man under various historical dispensations to imitate and thence to achieve ultimate fame in final Judgment.

Justice and Mercy are the complementary natures of God. Acting as a divine deputy for the creation of the new world and as a divine intercessor for Adam and Eve, the Son presents at once an image of God's Justice and Mercy. The

act of creation is a manifestation of His omnipotence against evil as well as of His infinite love for the good. Justice exacted on the guilty pair is appeased by Mercy, which promises the reward of "paradise within" (XII. 587) for those who wait until the final Judgment. God brings through the Son's passive and active fortitude His purpose and His accommodating ways into visible reality for man to see, so that any man is provided with enough opportunity to be saved and to achieve eternal fame.

Chronologically, the War in Heaven in Book V takes place before the Son's voluntary offering of sacrifice in Book III. The begetting of the Son, which is the cause of Satan's revolt, takes place just before the War. God pronounces:

> This day I have begot whom I declare
> My only Son, and on this holy hill
> Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
> At my right hand. Your head I him appoint;
> And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
> All knees in heav'n, and shall confess him Lord.
> Under his great vicegerent reign abide
> United as one individual soul
> For ever happy. Him who disobeys
> Me disobeys, breaks union.... (V. 603-12)

As Abdiel later tells Satan, the Son is by birthright called the Son of God (V. 814-15) and is proclaimed as God's

deputy, the "rightful King" (V. 818), and Messiah. In the Son, "all his Father shone/Substantially expressed" (III. 139-40): he is the "Effulgence of [his Father's] glory" (VI. 680). Here the importance of his exaltation lies in his future choice and act. The begetting of the Son anticipates and looks forward to the coming glorification of him, which culminates in the final Judgment.

In sharp contrast with Satan, whose military valor is based on disobedience and apostasy, the Son, through ultimate faith and obedience, and by birthright, is attested with the divine fortitude of God. On the third day of the battle, God leaves the vanquishing of Satan and his host in the hands of the Son and prophesies at the same time the glory of his victory:

> ...the glory may be thine
> Of ending this great war, since none but thou
> Can end it. Into thee such virtue and grace
> Immense I have transfused, that all may know
> In heav'n and hell thy power above compare,
> And this perverse commotion governed thus,
> To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
> Of all things, to be Heir and to be King
> By sacred unction, thy deservèd right.
>
> (VI. 701-09)

The Son goes out to conquer Satan and his crew as the anointed King to fulfill his Father's will and his attested

title. He, entirely supported by God's "virtue and grace," is shown as the "mightiest in [his] Father's might" (VI. 710). Armed with "celestial panoply" (VI. 760), riding a chariot, he drives into the midst of his enemies as the divine warrior.[1] In him manifested the wrath of God. Thunder is the instrument by which God performs judgment on the disobedient. Justice exacted upon the fallen crew by the Son is a prefiguration of the Last Judgment on the unwilling to repent and serves as a consolation for those who follow the pattern of the Son. Most importantly, however, the doom of Satan and the fallen angels is presented as a negative clarification for man to discern God's accommodating ways.

After sending out Satan and his host to their doom, the Son is rightfully exalted, sitting on the right hand of his Father, and receives heavenly praise (VI. 891-92). He is praised as the "victorious King,/Son, Heir, and Lord" who is "Worthiest to reign" over his dominion (VI. 886-88).

[1]John Seaman, in The Moral Paradox of Paradise Lost (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), claims that both the Son and Satan possess the characteristics of the epic heroes; the former merely in form, the latter as an exemplary hero whose spirit corresponds with form. His opinion seems justifiable when one considers that Satan's parodic role, transferred back to and taken up in the Son's faith, becomes an exemplary one attested to the Christian hero. However, Milton's stress falls rather on the passive fortitude of the Son, in which he shows an exemplary mode of heroism for man's imitation, and through which he wins ultimate victory over Satanic strength.

The heavenly exaltation of the Son is based on his obedience--"to obey is happiness entire" (VI. 741)--and his never-ending glorification of God--"...thou always seek'st/ To glorify thy Son, I always thee" (VI. 724-25). God in turn honors His Son according to His will and transfers to him "Kingdom and power and glory" (VI. 815-16), which belong to Him only. Hence, the Son, through performing God's will as a divine judge, substantiates his title begotten by his birthright. It is, however, only in Revelation and after the Son's "Heroic martyrdom" that he is given eternal kingdom and fame with the faithful. The exaltation of the Son in Paradise Lost precedes, foreshadows, and depends upon his future choice and performance.

Raphael emphasizes the creative aspect of the Son's performance, when he creates on his Father's behalf the new world: "to create/Is greater than created to destroy" (VII. 606-07). On the one hand, the work of creation displays God's "sapience and love" (VII. 195) through the Son, for God always creates "Good out of evil" (VII. 188). On the other hand, it "reveals the...divine 'might' and 'Omnipotence' in its constructive phase":[1]

> Great are thy works, Jehovah, infinite
> Thy power....
> Who seeks

[1]Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero, p. 35.

> To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
> To manifest the more thy might: his evil
> Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.
> Witness this new-made world, another heav'n....
> (VII. 602-03, 613-17)

The creation of the world itself is the manifestation of God's Justice and Mercy, as they are imaged in the Son. God makes his infinite power known through the Son when evil forces are at work. At the same time, evil becomes the means of discerning good and the infinite love of God manifested by the Son. By performing the task assigned by God, the Son, an image of his Father, substantiates and shows His purpose for the lesser creatures. And it is only by responding to His purpose (as the Son does by offering himself for sacrifice), that man can be saved achieving eternal fame.

In Book III, the Son sets an exemplary act of choice by responding immediately, without doubt or hesitation, to God's calling. God, by appealing to justice, accommodates Himself, presents Himself as a wrathful tyrant in order to evoke a response of mercy or love from the Son. The Son responds and fulfills God's purpose, choosing to offer himself as a ransom for man. As in the case of Abdiel, he correctly uses his freedom to choose by acting on faith in God. While "all the heav'nly quire stood mute" (III. 217), he breaks into silence:

> Account me man; I for his sake will leave
> Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee
> Freely put off, and for him lastly die
> Well pleased; on me let Death wreck all his rage....
> (III. 238-41)

Contrary to Satan's aspiration to equal God, he makes "magnanimous choice"[1] by renouncing his God-like glory to descend "to assume/Man's nature" (III. 303-04). God acknowledges this:

> thou hast, though throned in highest bliss
> Equal to God, and equally enjoying
> God-like fruition, quitted all to save
> A world from utter loss.... (III. 305-08)

Here, the Son displays passive fortitude in his attempt to restore Paradise (or to conquer Satanic strength) through humiliation and patient suffering. His volunteering is made through complete faith or reliance on Providence--"by thee I live" (III. 244)--and is a manifestation of "immortal love" (III. 267) and "Filial obedience" (III. 269). Later, in Book XII, Michael sums up the state of the Son's humiliation and his role as a redeemer:

> The law of God exact he shall fulfill
> Both by obedience and by love, though love
> Alone fulfill the law; thy punishment

[1]Greaves, p. 100.

He shall endure by coming in the flesh
To a reproachful life and cursèd death,
Proclaiming life to all who shall believe
In his redemption, and that his obedience
Imputed becomes theirs by faith.... (XII. 402-09)[1]

The Son, who is now a promised redeemer, has made a pattern for others: his choice followed by his redemption not only promises eternal salvation for mankind but also acts as a pattern for each man to imitate through faith and thereby to achieve fame through individual merits. God acknowledges the Son's merits proved through his love and goodness and promises to him exaltation and eternal glory: Thou

hast been found
By merit more than birthright Son of God,
Found worthiest to be so by being good,
Far more than great or high; because in thee
Love hath abounded more than glory abounds;
Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
With thee thy manhood also to this throne;
Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign
Both God and man, Son both of God and man,
Anointed universal King. All power
I give thee; reign for ever, and assume

[1]Michael shows that the Law in the Old Testament, appealing to justice alone, is inadequate, but is to be fulfilled by the Son's works of faith or his redemptive office.

> Thy merits; under thee as Head supreme
> Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions, I reduce.
> All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide
> In heaven, or earth, or under earth in hell.
>
> (III. 308-22)

Here, God prophesies the final exaltation of the Son in Revelation, when he will sit again on the right hand of Him (XII. 456-57) and reign forever as an universal King for both God and man. Like the Son, those who correctly respond to God's sign through faith and humility prove their merits and are promised final exaltation. Later, when the Son intercedes for the fallen Adam and Eve, he again shows his "immortal love" for mortal men. As the promised redeemer, he becomes the mediator between human and divine, demonstrating God's purpose in him and in his pattern of action.

In Paradise Lost, Milton emphasizes in the Son the exemplary pattern of action and choice, which culminates in his voluntary offer of sacrifice. As an agent of God, the Son reveals God's will and purpose into action. Through his act of choice, or through his right response to God's accommodation to undergo the trial of suffering and humiliation, the Son sets the exemplary pattern of merits for man's imitation. Milton recognizes the pattern of merits and ultimate fame as rewards in Revelation in the norm of humiliation and exaltation set by the Son:

to obey is best,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his presence, ever to observe
His providence, and on him sole depend,
Merciful over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil, and by small
Accomplishing great things, by things deemed weak
Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
By simply meek; that suffering for truth's sake
Is fortitude to highest victory,
And to the faithful death the gate of life;
Taught this by his example whom I now
Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest. (XII. 561-73)

The Old Testament Heroes

Michael's prophecy on the Old Testament heroes in Books XI and XII of Paradise Lost involves the stories of the types of "one just man" (XI. 818), Enoch and Noah, and of the wanderings of Abraham and his followers to the promised land. Though the heroes are under the Old Testament dispensation, which is considered to be a preparatory stage toward the New, they are provided with enough signs or grace to attain "paradise within," a consolatory promise to be fulfilled in Revelation. As God foretells in Book III, the fallen man under any historical dispensations can achieve eternal salvation and fame (1) by freely choosing to accept

grace from God through repentance, obedience, and faith, and (2) by the sacrifice of the Son. Hence, even before the Fall, the result of the Son's ministry of redemption is effected,[1] and the choice of alternatives, either to stand or to fall, is left to man. Milton's stress falls less on man's dispensatory circumstance than on his individual response to God's way, for even he who has no knowledge of Christ is given, through his faith in God, a consolatory promise, which is to be satisfied with the sacrifice of the Son, and to be fulfilled in Revelation.

Under the Old Testament dispensation, man is yet in need of disciplinary experiences and the exercise of mind, whereby he may become aware of the superiority of the works of faith over the works of law. Nevertheless, like others of Milton's heroes, the Old Testament heroes, in spite of the limitations imposed on their dispensatory circumstances, act on faith and stand in sharp contrast with the unfaithful. In the fallen world, evil, becoming the common practice of man, serves as a means to discern good for the heroes of faith. In confrontation with the reprobate enjoying carnal reliance, the heroes manifest their spiritual strength. For "truth's sake," they undergo the types of trial and suffering through which the Son overcomes Satanic strength. The Old Testament heroes are not merely "shadowy types"

[1]See Sadler, "Regeneration and Typology," p. 145.

(XII. 303), providing the progressive stage toward the regeneration of mankind achieved by the Son. Rather, their individual experiences are put into an exemplary pattern in the Son's future ministry of redemption to regain eternal Paradise of rest. With the Son's merits in his exemplary works of faith, the promise of eternal salvation and fame for the heroes is secured, preceded by their final exaltation in Revelation. In the final Judgment in Revelation, God's prophecy is to be exacted: those who will neglect may deeper fall; those who will hear "shall attain" and "safe arrive" (III. 195-201).

Enoch and Noah are "The only righteous in a world perverse" (XI. 701). They are the earthly counterparts of Abdiel. Like Abdiel, who was the only faithful among the faithless, and who stood against his enemies for the cause of truth, they are "single to be just" (XI. 703) among the wicked and "utter odious truth" (XI. 704). Like Abdiel, who prophesies the doom of the rebels, they both prophesy God's judgment on the unjust. Enoch's prophecy that "God would come/To judge them [the wicked] with his saints" (XI. 704-05) parallels Noah's prophecy: "Conversion and repentance, as to souls/In prison under judgments imminent" (XI. 724-25). Both Enoch and Noah are "fearless of reproach and scorn" (XI. 811) and "set/The paths of righteousness" (XI. 813-14) before the unrighteous, just as Abdiel was "fearless" (V. 875) of "hostile scorn" (V. 904) or "Universal

reproach" (VI. 34) and "maintained/Against revolted multitudes the cause/Of truth" (VI. 30-32).

Enoch stands alone against the "men of renown," speaking of justice against injustice, truth against falsehood, peace against violence, and righteousness against unrighteousness:

> one rising, eminent
> In wise deport, spake much of right and wrong,
> Of justice, of religion, truth and peace,
> And judgment from above. (XI. 665-68)

Noah stands against "pleasure, ease, and sloth,/Surfeit, and lust...wantonness and pride" (XI. 794-95) of the wicked:

> a reverend sire among them came,
> And of their doings great dislike declared,
> And testified against their ways. (XI. 719-21)

Both Enoch and Noah confront evil and display their faith in God, who in turn witnesses their merits, rewarding them with life. Enoch's testimony of truth against "men of renown"--biblical giants whose earthly fame solely rests on their military valor--enables him to "walk with God/High in salvation and the climes of bliss,/Exempt from death" (XI. 707-09):

> him old and young
> Exploded and had seized with violent hands,
> Had not a cloud descending snatched him thence
> Unseen amid the throng. (XI. 668-71)

God observes "The one just man" (XI. 818), Noah, amidst the unjust, refuting, for the cause of truth, "hostile deeds in peace" (XI. 796). In the event, Noah is saved from the flood, while others perish.

Enoch and Noah are the only "example good" (XI. 809) in a world depraved of "Justice and temperance, truth and faith" (XI. 807). Although "reward/Awaits the good" (XI. 709-10), only punishment awaits the wicked. The reward of life for Enoch and Noah is contrasted with the punishment of death for the wicked. In a fallen world, Enoch and Noah are deemed perverse and receive reproach and scorn, while they receive fame in heaven: "God/Looking on the earth, with approbation marks/The just man, and divulges him through heaven/To all his angels, who with true applause/Recount his praises" (PR, III. 60-64). As in the case of Abdiel, Milton finds the pattern of Christian merit and reward in "one just man" among the unfaithful. Willing obedience of Enoch and Noah to the will of God shadows the Son's humiliation for the redemption of mankind:

> Such grace shall one just man find in his sight,
> That he [God] relents [his ire], not to blot out
> mankind. (XI. 890-91)

Through the Son's ministry of redemption and through their own merits, Enoch and Noah are to receive in Revelation a final state of bliss and eternal fame with other faithful heroes of faith.

The new world after the flood, like the former one, becomes involved again in the works of evil:

> Thus will this latter, as the former world,
> Still tend from bad to worse, till God at last,
> Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
> His presence from among them, and avert
> His holy eyes; resolving from thenceforth
> To leave them to their own polluted ways,
> And one peculiar nation to select
> From all the rest.... (XII. 105-12)

The wanderings of the Israelites led by the Old Testament heroes to their promised land can be compared to the metaphor God uses for the possibility of salvation for the faithful:

> I will place within them as a guide
> My umpire Conscience, whom if they will hear,
> Light after light well used they shall attain,
> And to the end persisting, safe arrive.
> (III. 194-97)

Though the elected leaders are especially endowed with "peculiar grace"--"Some I have chosen of peculiar grace/ Elect above the rest" (III. 183-84)--they must respond to this grace from God through faith in Him. God entrusts "one faithful man" (XII. 113), Abraham, with the task of raising "A mighty nation" (XII. 124) so that "in his seed/All nations shall be blest" (XII. 125-26). Though Abraham has

been "Bred up in idol-worship" (XII. 115), "He leaves his gods, his friends, and native soil" (XII. 129) to respond promptly to God's calling and proves his "heroic faith":[1]

> he straight obeys,
> Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes,
> .....
> Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth
> With God, who called him, in a land unknown.
> (XII. 126-27, 133-34)

Without doubt or distrust, he promptly obeys. Without knowledge of where to go, he seeks only God's guidance in his unshaken faith. As in the case of the Son in Paradise Regained, Abraham, performing "God's labors in partial ignorance, is blessed by the limitations which make choice necessary and action possible."[2] His tested faith and obedience resemble the Son's complete trust in God's Providence when he is led into the wilderness (PR, I. 290-93). Following God's grace,

> Canaan he [Abraham] now attains...
> there by promise he receives
> Gift to his progeny of all that land.
> (XII. 135, 137-38)

[1]Stanley Fish, "Standing Only: Christian Heroism in Paradise Lost," Critical Quarterly, IX (1967), 175.

[2]Ibid.

By Abraham's positive response and his right actions, the followers of Abraham are provided with the pattern of action, which brings the consolation of "paradise within." In the future, the Son in his exemplary role subsumes the actions of the Old Testament heroes by delivering mankind from Satan's yoke through supreme obedience and love. Michael identifies the seed of Abraham with the Son:

> all nations of the earth
> Shall in his seed be blessed; by that seed
> Is meant thy great Deliverer, who shall bruise
> The Serpent's head. (XII. 147-50)

Abraham leaves a son, Isaac, and a grandchild, Jacob. Jacob, "Like him [Abraham] in faith, in wisdom, and renown" (XII. 154), leaves Canaan for Egypt with twelve sons. Then, Joseph, Jacob's younger son, who invited his father to sojourn in Egypt, leaves a nation growing from his race. Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, fearing the overgrowth of Joseph's progeny, makes them servile to himself and to his nation. The king's evil treatment of Israelites ensues until the next followers of Abraham, Moses and his brother, Aaron, are "sent from God to claim/His people from enthralment" (XII. 170-11). Pharaoh and his host who deny "To know their God, or message to regard" (XII. 174), receive judgments from God through Moses for their evil deeds and unfaithfulness. God reveals his punishment on them through unnatural phenomena of the whole of Egypt (XII. 175-90). On the

other hand, the faithful are led by God in their journeys to the promised land, Canaan.

To guide the race elect safe from evil harms, God entrusts His power in the hands of Moses: "wondrous power God to his saint will lend" (XII. 200). Wandering with hardship in the wilderness, Israelites are given the opportunity to undergo disciplinary experiences to prepare for the oncoming conflict with enemies in Canaan. Michael emphasizes the need of discipline for each individual Israelite in order that he may not succumb to the life of servitude under the Canaanite;

> ...for life
> To noble and ignoble is more sweet
> Untrained in arms, where rashness leads not on.
> (XII. 220-22)

Laying stress on the superiority of the spiritual life over the carnal, Michael conveys the meaning of the eternal life of the soul: eternal salvation and fame will visit upon those who overcome evil by heroic trial of suffering and patience. The delay in the wilderness provides for the Israelites this necessary test of spiritual strength for the regeneration. Moreover, their wandering in the wilderness shadows the Son's overcoming of Satanic temptation in the wilderness through faith, obedience, humility, and patience.

The race elect set up their government in the

wilderness and are given the laws of God through Moses, who becomes the "Mediator" (XII. 240) and the "minister/Of law" (XII. 308-09). Moses receives laws from God and informs his race "by types/And shadows, of that destined Seed to bruise/The Serpent, by what means he shall achieve/Mankind's deliverance" (XII. 232-35). Bearing "in figure" (XII. 241) the office of the mediator between God and man, Moses is a type of the Son under the Old Testament dispensation. The setting up of God's tabernacle after the establishment of the laws brought by Moses prefigures the coming of Messiah: "The Holy One with mortal men to dwell" (XII. 248).

Michael tells Adam that "Law can discover sin," caused by "natural pravity" (XII. 288) of man, but cannot remove it (XII. 290) to regain what Adam had forfeited. The Law is given to man to show its imperfection, which must be fulfilled by the works of faith exemplified by the Son. The "shadowy expiations" (XII. 291) or the religious rites (e.g., sacrifice of bulls and goats) and the moral justice performed within the bounds of the Law present themselves as a sign or means for man to discern "a better cov'nant" (XII. 302):

> So law appears imperfect, and but giv'n
> With purpose to resign them in full time
> Up to a better cov'nant, disciplined
> From shadowy types to truth, from flesh to spirit,
> From imposition of strict laws to free

Acceptance of large grace, from servile fear
To filial, works of law to works of faith.
(XII. 300-06)

Hence, under the Old Testament dispensation, more information is given for those under "the 'Law and the Prophets'" than for those under "the Law." But each man is given, depending on his historical circumstance, equal opportunity to attain consolatory promise.[1]

As a follower of Abraham, as God's saint, and as the "minister/Of law," Moses performs his office through faith and obedience and becomes one of the faithful to receive final exaltation with the Son. He has made a pattern for others, and each man may adapt the pattern to his own dispensatory circumstance.[2] Yet, by pointing out the inadequacy of the Law, Michael indicates the limitation of historical dispensation imposed upon Moses:

shall not Moses, though of God
Highly beloved, being but the minister
Of law, his people into Canaan lead. (XII. 307-09)

The next follower of Abraham, Joshua, succeeds the office of Moses and leads the Israelites into the promised land:

[1]See Sadler, "Regeneration and Typology," pp. 143-45.

[2]Ibid., p. 144.

Joshua whom the Gentiles Jesus call,
His name and office bearing, who shall quell
The adversary Serpent, and bring back
Through the world's wilderness long-wandered man
Safe to eternal Paradise of rest. (XII. 310-14)

Here again, as in the case of Moses, Joshua is depicted as a type of the Son under the Old Testament dispensation. Like Moses, he is a faithful hero who performs his office under God's grace and as His servant. Like Moses, he acts within the full reach of his capacity, but limited in his achievement. Michael shows that Joshua led his race into "earthly Canaan" (XII. 315), whereas the Son regains the "eternal Paradise of rest." Milton continuously indicates that the pattern of action followed by the Old Testament figures is similar in kind to the Son's, but must be kept distinct from the latter. The Son's pattern of action is exemplary in the whole process of his choice, act, and achievement--his voluntary submission to assume the form of servant for the regeneration of mankind.

Long after the settlement of Israelites in the earthly Canaan, sins start to corrupt their faith. Among the unfaithful who suffer the proper punishment from God, the faithful are saved. Michael names David as the faithful heir of Abraham: David,

both for piety renowned
And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive

> Irrevocable, that his regal throne
> For ever shall endure; the like shall sing
> All prophecy: that of the royal stock
> Of David...shall rise
> A Son, the Woman's Seed to thee foretold,
> Foretold to Abraham, as in whom shall trust
> All nations, and to kings foretold, of kings
> The last, for of his reign shall be no end.
>
> (XII. 321-30)

For his piety and faith, David, who ranks among the Old Testament heroes, receives a promise that a Messiah will rise from his royal stock. The Son is not only to bring Abraham and his followers back to the eternal Paradise they have long sought, but also to succeed, preserve, and fulfill David's legal throne by accomplishing spiritual and eternal kingship.

The leaders of the Israelites, Abraham and his followers, are the saints of God. Undergoing the test of faith and disciplinary experiences, while at the same time struggling with evil and corruption, they persist their way with God to reach their destined land. They are left with the consolation of "paradise within" with the additional prophetic hope that God will send a Messiah to reward the faithful. With the accomplishment of the Son's ministry of redemption, their faith and that of "the sons/Of Abraham's faith" (XII. 448-49) are brought to the surface, and the

promise of eternal salvation and fame is secured:

> from that day
> Not only to the sons of Abraham's loins
> Salvation shall be preached, but to the sons
> Of Abraham's faith wherever through the world;
> So in his seed all nations shall be blest.
> (XII. 446-50)

The chief virtue of both the types of "one just man" and the leaders of the Israelites lies in their firm standing with faith in God against evil in the corrupted world. They are the heroes of faith and the types of the Son under their historical dispensations. Although more information is given to those placed under the "Prophets" (XII. 241-44), chances are equally provided for them who hear and respond. With their faith providing the way to ultimate reward, the Old Testament heroes lay down the pattern for man. In Revelation, with the Son's exaltation supreme among the rest, the faithful will receive the reward of eternal fame:

> to the heav'n of heav'ns he shall ascend
> With victory, triumphing through the air
> Over his foes and thine; there shall surprise
> The Serpent, prince of air, and drag in chains
> Through all his realm, and there confounded leave;
> Then enter into glory, and resume
> His seat at God's right hand, exalted high

Above all names in heav'n; and thence shall come,
When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,
With glory and power to judge both quick and dead,
To judge th' unfaithful dead, but to reward
His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
Whether in heav'n or earth, for then the earth
Shall all be Paradise, far happier place....

(XII. 451-64)

Chapter 3

FAME IN PARADISE REGAINED

THE NEGATIVE VIEW OF FAME: SATAN'S TEMPTATIONS

Satan in Paradise Regained reveals his false understanding of fame by proposing to the Son varieties of false ways to achieve his mission. Unable to read the symbolic meaning of the Son's mission or his bruising of the Serpent, much less perceive his identity (I. 89-93; IV. 204-05), Satan interprets the Son's kingly office that he "shouldst be great and sit on David's throne" (I. 240) in earthly or parodic terms. He, being a "Dictator" (I. 113) of the world, fears that the declared Son of God (I. 85) may endanger his exercise of power in (perverted) freedom by appearing as "the head of nations.../Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth" (I. 98-99). By offering various means to attain earthly kingdoms and fame to the Son, Satan expects that the Son will in the end worship him as his superior lord (IV. 167). The Son, however, learns and, with increasing awareness, affirms the way to achieve his mission or true fame by rejecting Satan's offers.

Wealth is the first means Satan offers as an easy path to achieve kingship and fame. To suit his purpose, he appears as an urbane figure, an experienced and a knowledgeable man of the world "As one in city or court or palace bred"

(II. 300). He insinuates that the declared Son of God is too poor and "low of birth" (II. 413) (since his father is a carpenter), and yet unknown to achieve "high designs" (II. 410) on which the Son's heart is set. Therefore, the Son should lend his trust in wealth, Satan says:

> Money brings honor, friends, conquest, and realms.
> .....
> if at great things thou wouldst arrive,
> Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,
> Not difficult, if thou hearken to me;
> Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand;
> They whom I favor thrive in wealth amain,
> While virtue, valor, wisdom, sit in want.
>
> (II. 422, 426-31)

Here, Satan's logic follows that wealth provides the way for the Son to fulfill the office of the king as prophesied; and by gaining dominion on earth, the Son automatically earns fame. The Son, however, rejects the necessity of wealth for his kingly office and interprets his mission in spiritual terms. He cites not only two biblical figures, Gideon and Jephtha (II. 439), but also the pagan figures, "Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus" (II. 446) as exempla of those who accomplished great deeds without wealth. Then, unlike Satan, he shows his right understanding of fame by distinguishing spiritual kingship from earthly:

> he who reigns within himself, and rules
> Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;
> Which every wise and virtuous man attains:
> And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
> Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,
> Subject himself to anarchy within,
> Or lawless passions in him which he serves.
>
> (II. 466-72)[1]

True kingship and fame are ascribed to those who govern "· inner man" (II. 477) with right reason by "knowing worshi God aright" (II. 475); and magnanimous man advances the t kingdom and his glory by refusing to accept his right to kingship with glory (II. 481-83). Tyranny or the desire rule others for the sake of honor or wealth is a sign God provides for man so that he becomes aware of his inward d order and servitude and seeks His grace. Satan misplaces his understanding of kingship and fame because of his inability and refusal to see and hear what God provides f the lesser creatures.

Next, Satan directly appeals to fame and glory tha have driven the worldly kings and conquerors to what he considers to be the highest achievement. Gradually disce ing some "godlike virtues" (III. 21) in the Son, the tem

[1]See Paradise Lost, XII, 79-101. Michael gives a account of man's loss of rational liberty after the Fall

suggests that the Son should inform the world of his greatness. As the types of men who have gained worldly admiration, Satan refers to the pagan conquerors--Alexander the Great (III. 32), Scipio (III. 34), Pompey (III. 35), and Julius Caesar (III. 39)--who gained dominion over others through military might. In admiration of the Son's oration refuting his former persuasion, Satan points out that the Son should demonstrate such an ability through military conquest. Here Satan displays his inability to see that the ambitious deeds and violence of the worldly heroes (or the types of biblical "men of renown") are manifestations of their spiritual blindness and degeneration. The Son perceives right away that Satan's proposal does not offer the right means to achieve true fame any more than his mission. He interprets Satan's understanding of fame as "the blaze of fame" (III. 47) and "people's praise" (III. 48). What Satan offers is a transitory fame given to public leaders on earth and is an antithesis or caricature of eternal fame. Those who conquer others by military might "leave behind/Nothing but ruin" (III. 78-79), but are swollen with pride, "titled gods" (III. 81), and worshiped among men. They are men of vainglory and presumption, who are "not worthy of fame" (III. 70), and present exemplification of false fame for man to distinguish it from true fame. True fame is achieved "Without ambition, war, or violence;/By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,/By patience, temperance" (III. 90-92). The

Son cites two "just m[e]n" (III. 62), both biblical and pagan figures, who are worthy of fame: Job and Socrates. Job for his "saintly patience" (III. 93) was given eternal fame by God and made famous in heaven, though "less known" (III. 68) on earth. Although pagan, Socrates is worthy of fame, for he suffered for truth's sake (III. 98). He is a pagan exemplar of magnanimous man who gains fame by not seeking it. Again, Satan offers false logic that God is insatiable for glory and that the Son is "least/Resembling [his] great Father" (III. 109-10), for he rejects glory. The Son refutes Satan's argument by presenting the right understanding of fame: True glory belongs only to God who shows "forth his goodness" (III. 125) for every soul seeking help, but man "who of his own/Hath nothing" (III. 134-35) deserves no glory. However, God has planted grace in man so that whoever advances His glory, not his own (III. 143), will advance his glory and fame.

Contrary to the Son's growing self-knowledge as the Son of God and his understanding of the right way to achieve fame through his mission, Satan cannot perceive the symbolic meaning of the divine Sonship. His knowledge is limited to the literal and earthly meaning of kingship and fame. This becomes clearly apparent when Satan appeals to the earthly conception of zeal and duty for the prompt acquisition of kingdom and power. He at first reminds the Son of the prophecy: "to a kingdom thou art born, ordained/To sit upon

thy father David's throne" (III. 152-53). One may recall that when the Son was led into the wilderness by God's grace (I. 290-93),[1] his mind was set on the kingly office he is to fulfill:

> Victorious deeds
> Flamed in my heart, heroic acts: one while
> To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
> Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth
> Brute violence and proud tyrannic pow'r,
> Till truth were freed, and equity restored.
> (I. 215-20)

Then, the Son was not quite sure of the way he was to achieve "heroic acts," although he learned that his

> way must lie
> Through many a hard assay even to the death,
> Ere I [he] the promised kingdom can attain.
> (I. 263-65)

Here Satan directly challenges the Son's Messianic mission:

> If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal
> And duty; zeal and duty are not slow,
> But on occasion's forelock watchful wait.
> They themselves rather are occasion best--

[1]"Some strong motion" (I. 290) is equivalent to "Some rousing motions" in Samson Agonistes, ll. 1382. God observes the faithful and lets his message be known to them through prevenient grace whenever necessary.

> Zeal of thy father's house, duty to free
> Thy country from her heathen servitude;
> So shalt thou best fulfill, best verify
> The Prophets old, who sung thy endless reign,
> The happier reign the sooner it begins.
> Reign then; what canst thou better do the while?
>
> (III. 171-80)

Coating his appeal with reference to force and time, Satan urges the Son not only to use "arms" (III. 166) to gain his kingdom as "Machabeus" (III. 165) did, but also to fulfill his duty promptly. In the previous temptations, the Son has already made it clear that force is not the means to attain everlasting kingdom and fame; and that Job earned fame for his "saintly patience." He replies:

> All things are best fulfilled in their due time,
> And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.
> If of my reign prophetic Writ hath told
> That it shall never end, so when begin
> The Father in his purpose hath decreed,
> He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
>
> (III. 182-87)

Then the Son clearly states that the only way to achieve his everlasting kingdom and, accordingly, fame, is through patience, faith (III. 193-94), suffering (III. 194-95), and obedience (III. 195-96).

Still exercising his fraud, Satan next offers the

ostentatious kingdom of the world, of which he is a master. With appeal to the Son's lack of experience (III. 240), Satan indicates that he will educate and induce the Son to take action promptly by displaying "The monarchies of the earth" (III. 246) in visible reality.[1] The panorama of Parthia, which Satan first displays, consists of military pomp and pride. The comparison of Parthian might with the chivalry of Charlemain (III. 337-44) discloses Satan's false understanding of fame based on military prowess.[2] Satan urges the Son to utilize the Parthian power as a means to attain his kingdom. Again, Satan's argument is built upon his false understanding of the Son's identity and his mission. By identifying the Son as "the second David,"[3] Satan argues that, if the Son wants the foretold prophecy to be fulfilled, he should "Endeavor, as [his] father David did" (III. 353). Further, unless the Son gains control of Parthia, under which dominion the ten lost tribes of Israel dwell, he will never be the "true successor" (III. 373) of David. This once more is Satan's false appeal that, by

[1]Here Satan parodies the grand tour on which Michael took Adam for learning in Paradise Lost.

[2]See the section on "Arthurian knighthood" in Chapter 2 and also Paradise Lost, I, 573-89.

[3]Barbara Lewalski, Milton's Brief Epic: The Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained (Providence: Brown Univ. Press, 1966), p. 265.

using wrong means and wrong time, the Son should extol himself with false glorification. As in the previous temptations, the Son's reply is perceptive, revealing Satan's falsehood. He rightly proclaims that Parthian power is "vain of fleshly arm,/And fragile arms" (III. 387-88), "Plausible [only] to the world" (III. 393). In heavenly terms, the civil power of Parthia is "human weakness rather than...strength" (III. 402). Moreover, the Son attacks the idol worship of the lost tribes as "heathenish crimes" (III. 419). Yet, he indicates that God, remembering Abraham, may recall the sinners to repentance in His best time. And he will follow God's providential guide, waiting until due time to free Israel (III. 433-40). By refusing to accept Satan's offer, the Son has proved himself as "Israel's true King" (III. 441) in contrast to the false heir of David Satan tempted the Son to assume.

Satan next offers the "great and glorious" (IV. 45) Empire of Rome. The spectacle of Rome contains all that the world can offer: "wealth and power,/Civility of manners, arts, and arms" (IV. 82-83). It is the compendium of world's glory: "I have shown thee all/The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory" (IV. 88-89). As the monarch of the world, Satan proposes his whole domain and presents every possible means to achieve earthly fame. Then he urges the Son to expel the Roman Emperor Tiberius, whereby the Son will attain his kingdom as the second David:

> With what ease,
> Endued with regal virtues as thou art,
> Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,
> Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne,
> Now made a sty, and in his place ascending
> A victor people free from servile yoke?
> And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
> Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
> Aim therefore at no less than all the world,
> Aim at the highest; without the highest attained
> Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
> On David's throne, be prophesied what will.
>
> (IV. 97-108)

Satan's persuasion of the Son to free Israel as a worldly usurper, aiming at the highest--all the worldliness of wealth, power, glory, civility, arms--recalls a picture of instigator revolting against God in Paradise Lost. Though without awareness, Satan is in a way presenting his own case for man to distinguish true fame from false, spiritual kingdom from secular, good from evil. The Son possesses, through his past experiences and learning, a sufficient knowledge of good distinguished from evil, but learns and affirms the way to achieve his mission by rejecting Satan's proposal.

Not in the least affected by Satan's "majestic show" (IV. 110), the Son reaffirms the spiritual nature of his

kingdom and mission:

> What wise and valiant man would seek to free
> These thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved,
> Or could of inward slaves make outward free?
>
> (IV. 143-45)

Here again, the Son distinguishes man's inner servitude caused by the disorder of his faculty from rational liberty with reason, controlling other faculties to discern good. It is not his purpose to free those who are spiritually enthralled, but to restore through inward strength (IV. 149-50) eternal life and happiness (IV. 147-48) for those who are penitent. The stone imagery the Son employs to describe his way of establishing his kingdom refers to "the weakness with which David confronted and conquered the armed Goliath."[1] What Satan has presented to the Son is a seeming glory lacking in substance or a caricature of God's Kingdom and His glory. For certainly, the rise of a Satanic kingdom, like its temporal blaze of glory and fame, must fall, whereas of the Son's spiritual Kingdom and its glory, there shall be no end (IV. 151). With complete faith in God, the Son rejects every possible inducement Satan can offer: "what the means/Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell" (IV. 152-53).

Yet, Satan still carries on, this time, making a non-materialistic offer as the last means to allure the Son:

[1]Lewalski, Milton's Brief Epic, pp. 279-80.

> Be famous then
> By wisdom; as thy empire must extend,
> So let extend thy mind o'er all the world,
> In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.
> All knowledge is not couched in Moses' Law,
> The Pentateuch or what the Prophets wrote;
> The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
> To admiration, led by nature's light. (IV. 221-28)

Having failed to excite the Son's mind with the compendium of materialistic glory, Satan offers the compendium of secular and Gentile knowledge. He shows that Athens is filled with intellectual riches; it is the place where the "teachers.../Of moral prudence" (IV. 262-63), "the famous orators" (IV. 267), the sage philosophers and the best poets were born. And the tempter names Socrates as the "Wisest of men" (IV. 276), implicitly identifying him with the Son. Gentile knowledge, Satan suggests, will enable the Son to lead the contemplative life

> Till time mature thee [him] to a kingdom's weight;
> These rules will render thee [him] a king complete
> Within thyself [himself], much more with empire
> joined. (IV. 282-84)

Possible suggestion it may seem, the implication here is that the Son can establish his kingdom and achieve fame by controlling the minds of people.

The Son observes that Gentile knowledge is "false, or

little else but dreams,/Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm" (IV. 291-92). Socrates "professed/To know this only, that he nothing knew" (IV. 293-94). In regard to other Gentile philosophers, the Son censures those who doubted their knowledge, only identified virtue with earthly joy, or taught conceits (IV. 295-99). The Stoics are also accused of their self-sufficiency (IV. 300-08). Most importantly, they were ignorant of the Christian version of the fallen world:

> Alas what can they teach, and not mislead,
> Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
> And how the world began, and how man fell
> Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
> (IV. 309-12)

In other words, the Gentiles were lacking in "True wisdom" (IV. 319):

> He who receives
> Light from above, from the Fountain of Light,
> No other doctrine needs. (IV. 288-90)

Here, the Son distinguishes true wisdom from false: God is true wisdom and without it, all other knowledge is its "false resemblance" (IV. 320) or its parody. Not knowing true wisdom, the Gentile philosophers arrogate "All glory" "to themselves" and not to God (IV. 314-15). Without God's glory, man's glory or fame becomes a parody of true fame, just as Satan's is a burlesque imitation of His glory.

Hence, Scripture, which is an inspired work from God (IV. 350), is superior over all the Gentile arts and literature. Also, the Christian Prophets, since they are "divinely taught" (IV. 357), surpass Gentile orators. In this temptation, the Son shows the impossibility of establishing his kingdom or fame without Christian inspiration.

Failing to dissuade the Son from his redemptive office through appeal to false glory or false counterparts of heavenly glory, Satan shifts his darts "from allurement to threats."[1] The tempter's prediction based on judicial astrology that the Son is to meet in the future hardship and suffering is followed by an actual storm intended to heighten its effect through terror. Though the content of Satan's prediction holds true, its interpretation is presented in a false light. First, Satan bases his forecast on the superstitious and secular astrology which perverts or parodies the truth. Second, as in the previous temptations, he misinterprets (or intends to distort the truth underlying) the Son's Messianic mission. Satan's falsehood or his false understanding of fame underlying his parodic method of entire temptation from allurement to threats is manifested in his intention to divert the Son from the true way to achieve spiritual Kingdom and fame. However, Satan's

[1]Steadman, "'Like Turbulencies': The Tempest As Adversity Symbol," Milton's Epic Characters, p. 94.

fraud or his parodic and secular interpretation of fame is turned to good ends by God. For God, always creating good purpose out of evil, permits Satan's attempts in order to exercise the Son's will to humiliation and suffering.[1] Hence, by using evil through parody, Satan creates (though without awareness) an occasion for man to discern God's purpose, while the Son lays down the pattern for man.

The entire storm scene serves not only to perfect the Son in full trial (I. 4-5; IV. 489-91), but also to signify through parody his future humiliation and exaltation. The Son's total immunity against the assaults of Satan by the storm (IV. 401, 421, 425) complements his firm faith manifested in the earlier temptations and thus anticipates his future suffering, which will end in triumph. Moreover, the storm scene, being a symbolic parody of the Last Judgment in Revelation, is followed by the fair morning, which signifies the Son's exaltation as well as his final victory over the Devil. Without awareness, Satan is ironically forecasting his future defeat through the parody of his ways.

Finally in the tower temptation, when Satan forces the Son to reveal his divinity through supernatural power, a symbolic indication of the future result in Revelation is clearly set by the Son's firm standing and Satan's fall. The Son, recognizing his divinity standing firm, is figured

[1]Ibid., p. 96.

as a divine judge punishing the Devil, who "smitten with amazement" falls (IV. 562). At the same time, right after the final defeat of Satan, the Son is given a heavenly reward for his obedience and faith manifested throughout the temptations. The celestial banquet, which is a figure of the "marriage supper of the Lamb" in Revelation, consists of fruits and drink fetched from "the Tree of Life" (IV. 589) and "the Fount of Life" (IV. 590). As stated in Revelation 2:7 and 21:6,[1] they are the celestial repast symbolizing the "fruit" and the reward of eternal life and glory brought to and by the Son.[2] The Son's rejection of Satan's worldly offer through faith and humiliation or his Messianic mission has brought about not only "A fairer Paradise" (IV. 613) or a spiritual kingdom with full glory but also the basis and a pattern of imitation for man to gain eternal reward of glory and fame:

> Worthy is the Lamb who was slain, to receive power and wealth and wisdom and might and honor and glory and blessing! .... To him who sits upon the throne and to the Lamb be blessing and honor

[1]"To him who conquers I will grant to eat of the tree of life, which is in the paradise of God" (Rev. 2:7); "To the thirsty I will give water without price from the fountain of the water of life" (Rev. 21:6).

[2]See Steadman, "The Tree of Life as Messianic Symbol," Milton's Epic Characters, p. 84, pp. 86-87.

> and glory and might for ever and ever![1]

On the contrary, those who refuse to see more than the surface of God's accommodation through Satan's parodic ways, at the same time being unable to share the Son's Messianic experience, are to find the punishment of eternal damnation and death:

> ...as for the cowardly, the faithless, the polluted, as for murderers, fornicators, sorcerers, idolaters, and all liars, their lot shall be in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.[2]

Thus in Paradise Regained, as in others of Milton's divine poems, one can see two contrastive understanding of fame, of which one is a parody of the other. Milton distinguishes true fame from false by playing Satan's parodic or earthly interpretation of fame off against the Son's correct response.

THE POSITIVE VIEW OF FAME: HUMILIATION AND EXALTATION

Job and Socrates

Job and Socrates are depicted in Paradise Regained as the two representative types of figures that fit the perfect

[1]Revelation 5:12-13.

[2]Revelation 21:8.

pattern achieved by the Son's ministry of redemption through humiliation and exaltation. In the poem, there are brief allusions to the biblical and classical heroes who serve to clarify the interpretation of positive fame: Gideon, Jephtha, Moses, Elijah, Judas Maccabeus, David, Curius, Regulus, Hercules, and Oedipus. Among them, Milton specifically refers to Job and Socrates as the types representing the Messianic path of achieving fame. Though they are inferior to the Son, the virtues which throw light on the concept of true fame are particularly emphasized in these two figures.

In the poem, Job is named on various occasions (I. 147, 369, 425; III. 64, 67, 95) and is described as a man of "constant perseverance" (I. 148), of "high worth" (I. 370), of "patience" (I. 426; III. 93, 95), of righteousness (I. 425), and as "The just man" (III. 62).[1] Here Job's prominent virtue is patience along with the virtues of constancy and righteousness. In Milton's major poems, patience is definitely made an essential virtue for achieving true fame. And it is interdependent with other virtues--obedience, humility, reliance on Providence--necessary for fulfilling the pattern of humiliation and exaltation. In De Doctrina Christiana (II, iii), Milton defines patience as "that

[1]There are also the Jobean types of the Old Testament heroes--"the just man" and the righteous--in Paradise Lost: Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, David.

whereby we acquiesce in the promises of God through a confident reliance on his divine providence, power and goodness, and bear inevitable evils with equanimity as the dispensation of the supreme Father, and sent for our good.... Opposed to this is impatience under the divine decrees...."[1] Here he especially shows the inseparability of the two virtues, patience and reliance on Providence. Paul Baumgartner, in his "Milton and Patience," defines patience as "resignation to the Divine decrees and the acceptance of results, whether immediately good or bad, as belonging to the ultimately beneficent Providence of God."[2] He further comments that "the patient Christian, with faith in Divine Providence, seeks to know God's will and to act according to it, leaving the results to God."[3] Moreover, "part of the lesson of patience is the acceptance of the conditions of existence which God has imposed."[4] Baumgartner, too, lays emphasis on the close association of patience with faith in Providence. However, especially in regard to the concept of true fame, the virtues of humility and obedience are incorporated in and interdependent with those of patience and

[1] Prose Works, IV, 23.

[2] Paul Baumgartner, "Milton and Patience," Studies in Philology, IX (1963), 207.

[3] Ibid., p. 208.

[4] Ibid., p. 211.

reliance on Providence. In the Son's responding to Satan's appeal to zeal and duty is manifested exemplary patience perfected by his other virtues (III. 182-96). Here and elsewhere in Paradise Regained, the Son's ability to read God's signs and to interpret his mission correctly is upheld by his constant patience, faith, humility, and obedience. Likewise, Job's patience is the manifestation of his humility, faith, and obedience in the sight of God. He is depicted in the poem as the type of the Son, who has achieved fame by following the pattern of humiliation and exaltation.

God's and Satan's referring to Job in the beginning of the poem (I. 424-26, 147-49) emphasizes the resemblance between the temptation of Job and the Son. Moreover, the traditional Jobean exegesis identified Job as a type of the Son and remarked that Job's experiences, especially his suffering, shadow the Son's ministry of redemption.[1] In fact, Milton refers to the Book of Job as a model for a brief epic in The Reason of Church Government.[2] These evidences show not only that there are structural and contextual resemblances between Paradise Regained and the Book of Job, but also that both Job and the Son are the patient suffering heroes who have withstood Satanic temptations with those virtues which are requisite for fulfilling the pattern

[1]Lewalski, Milton's Brief Epic, pp. 26, 27.

[2]Prose Works, II, 478.

of humiliation and exaltation.

The similarity between the situations of Job and the Son is clear. Both Job and the Son are at first seemingly abandoned by God: Job suffers the loss of worldly goods and physical pains; the Son, desolate in the wilderness like a pauper, suffers from hunger. Job is tempted by his three friends to false beliefs in God: the Son is thrown an idea by Satan that he cannot fulfill his kingly office loitering in hunger in the wilderness. However, they both accept their condition through faith in God and manifest their patience. Job shows temperance from power (Job 24), women and wealth (Job 31), and distinguishes true wisdom from false (Job 28). The Son not only withstands all the temptations to earthly wealth, power, fame, and wisdom, but also distinguishes truth from falsehood. God has Satan tempted Job "To prove him, and illustrate his high worth" (PR, I. 370): God tempts even the righteous for the purpose of...exercising or manifesting their faith or patience."[1] Similarly, the Son's firm obedience is fully tried through all temptation (PR, I. 4-5). Thus, Job, who is humbled in the beginning, triumphs over all temptation and is given by God his former possessions twofold over. The Son assumes humility, overcomes all temptation, and is given a celestial banquet as a reward and promise of eternal life. He is

[1] De Doctrina Christiana, I, viii, Prose Works, IV, 209.

praised by the angels as "The Son of God" (IV. 602) and as the "True Image of the Father" (IV. 596), who is ready to undertake his glorious work to save mankind (IV. 634-35).

The Son defines true fame in Paradise Regained and illustrates the way Job has attained fame in heaven:

> This is true glory and renown, when God
> Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
> The just man, and divulges him through heaven
> To all his angels, who with true applause
> Recount his praises; thus he did to Job,
> When to extend his fame through heaven and earth....
> Famous he was in heaven, on earth less known.
> .....
> if there be in glory aught of good,
> It may by means far different be attained
> Without ambition, war, or violence;
> By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
> By patience, temperance. I mention still
> Him whom thy wrongs, with saintly patience borne,
> Made famous in a land and times obscure:
> Who names not now with honor patient Job?
>
> (III. 60-65, 68, 88-95)

Though naked and unarmed, but with patience, humility, and obedience, Job reveals temperance in all Satanic temptation, relying only on "the Fountain of Light" (IV. 289), the true wisdom of God and Providence. This enables Job to receive

heavenly praise, which is true fame as the Son defines it.

Socrates is a pagan type of the Son. Although the Son in Paradise Regained regards him inferior to Job, he claims the possible validity of human fame typified by Socrates. Socrates is named on three occasions in the poem, twice by the Son (III. 96; IV. 293) and once by Satan. The Son depicts Socrates as the type of man who has achieved positive fame (though human), whereas Satan misuses his name by showing to his adversary that this sage philosopher has possessed all possible human wisdom equal to God's true wisdom. Satan then regards human fame achieved by Socrates in a different perspective from that of the Son:

> From heaven descended to the low-roofed house
> Of Socrates--see there his tenement--
> Whom well inspired the oracle pronounced
> Wisest of men; from whose mouth issued forth
> Mellifluous streams that watered all the schools
> Of Academics old and new, with those
> Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect
> Epicurean, and the Stoic severe. (IV. 273-80)

Satan at first emphasizes the material poverty of Socrates, but then he misinterprets it by parodying the humbleness or the positive poverty of the Son in the wilderness. Unable to read the purpose behind the Son's assuming humility, Satan views the poverty of Socrates from the Stoic perspective that one's perfection lies in his abstinence from the

vicissitude of life. The Son accuses that the Stoic

> ...in philosophic pride,
> By him called virtue; and his virtuous man,
> Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing
> Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,
> As fearing God nor man, contemning all
> Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life,
> Which when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,
> For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
> Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.
> .....
> Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,
> And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
> All glory arrogate, to God give none.
>
> (IV. 300-08, 313-15)

The Stoic man's self-sufficiency brings only pride in himself. Far from regarding Socrates as a man with pride, the Son, diametrically opposed to Satan's view, remarks of Socrates "know this only, that he nothing knew" (IV. 294). The Son's emphasis falls on Socrates' virtue deriving from his attitude that he refused to admit his greatness. Hence, like the Son's, his greatness lies in his refusal to seek fame for himself. The Son implies further that if there is any validity in human fame, one should not assume fame, honor, or glory according to his worth, but should achieve

good deeds for themselves and not for himself.[1] Refusing to admit that he is the "Wisest of men," Socrates sought truth and suffered "for truth's sake." The Son, in another passage, contrasts Socrates' humility with the pride of the glory-seeking world conquerors:

> By what he [Socrates] taught and suffered for so doing,
> For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now
> Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.
> Yet if for fame and glory aught be done,
> Aught suffered, if young African for fame
> His wasted country freed from Punic rage,
> The deed becomes unpraised, the man at least,
> And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
>
> (III. 97-104)

Socrates fits the pattern of magnanimous man (II. 481-83; PL, XII. 569-70) and of the Son's humiliation and exaltation. Though what he achieved is a human level of fame, the substance of his fame equals heavenly fame, in sharp contrast to the false fame achieved by the conquerors who arrogate glory to themselves.

Both Job and Socrates are the type of heroes who have achieved true fame, though the latter is inferior: "Poor

[1]Arnold Stein, Heroic Knowledge: An Interpretation of Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1957), pp. 80-81.

Socrates (who next more memorable?)" (III. 96). Socrates' wisdom enabled him to discover only that he knows nothing. Unlike Job, he lacked the proper self-knowledge. Without the knowledge of man's Fall, of Grace, of man's creation by God, Socrates was "ignorant of [himself], of God much more" (IV. 310). However, the Son claims that among the pagans, Socrates is an exemplary type of hero who assumed the validity of human fame. The virtues of Job and Socrates are requisite to achieve true fame. Further, the sufferings of the two heroes shadow the Son's ministry of redemption, through which he has set their experiences into the perfect pattern of humiliation and exaltation.

The "Suffering Servant"

The exemplary pattern of Christian deeds and their reward is the Son's humiliation succeeded by his ultimate exaltation. The Son in Paradise Regained is depicted as the "perfect man" (I. 166) whose "firm obedience is fully tried/Through all temptation" (I. 4-5). In this poem and also in Paradise Lost, Milton brings into focus the Christian paradox of the Son's outward "weakness" which overcomes the "Satanic strength" (I. 161). The Son's "weakness" is characterized by his undergoing of "humiliation and strong sufferance" (I. 160). By voluntarily assuming human form, the Son submits himself to suffer and to reject the Satanic temptations with patience and faith in God. Milton's

emphasis on this aspect of the Son derives from his imitation of "the historic Messiah--the 'suffering servant' of Isaiah's prophecy, the redeemer in 'the form of a servant' of Philippians."[1] In De Doctrina Christiana, Milton comments that the Son's humiliation is "that state in which under his character of God-man he voluntarily submitted himself to the divine justice, as well in life as in death, for the purpose of undergoing all things requisite to accomplish our redemption."[2] The norm of the "Suffering Servant" lies in the Son's voluntary acceptance in assuming "the form of servant" (PL, X. 214) and thus to undergo "many a hard assay even to the death" (I. 264) for the ministry of redemption. By submitting himself to the path of humiliation, the Son simultaneously exhibits an exemplary choice with his right response to God's accommodation. His outward "weakness" or "inward nakedness" (PL, X. 221) is the proof of his complete reliance on God (I. 290-93).

In Paradise Regained, the Son lays "down the rudiments/Of his great warfare" before he is sent "To conquer Sin and Death" (I. 157-59). The image of the Son as a divine

[1]Steadman, "The 'Suffering Servant': Messianic Ministry As Epic Exemplar," Milton's Epic Characters, p. 59. In addition to Isaiah 42:2, Steadman also cites the biblical passages concerning the "Suffering Servant": Luke 24:26; Zechariah 9:9.

[2]Prose Works, IV, 304.

warrior here is symbolic of the result of the Son's ministry of redemption. First, the Son accomplishes his redemptive office or fulfills the norm of the "Suffering Servant" through his passive virtues of humility, obedience, faith, patience, and non-Stoic endurance. Secondly, the Son's humiliation is followed by his ultimate exaltation and his execution of divine judgment on evil through his active virtues, which will culminate in Revelation. By perceiving and rejecting ends and means incompatible with the norm of the "Suffering Servant," the Son himself recognizes that his humiliation must precede his ultimate exaltation:

> What if he hath decreed that I shall first
> Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,
> By tribulations, injuries, insults,
> Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
> Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting
> Without distrust or doubt, that he may know
> What I can suffer, how obey? Who best
> Can suffer best can do; best reign who first
> Well hath obeyed; just trial ere I merit
> My exaltation without change or end. (III. 188-97)

The Son here acknowledges not only that "suffering is the most perfect form of action,"[1] but also the right kind of

[1]Greaves, The Blazon of Honour, p. 108.

merit for the just trial as the Son of God. In his willingness for humility and his correct sense of merit is demonstrated the complete pattern of magnanimity which is founded on the path from humiliation to exaltation. In the poem, the norm of the "Suffering Servant" is best expressed in the Son's "will to magnanimity"[1] or his willingness to respond to God's Providence based on the rational functioning of his faculty. The Son's future merit or heavenly fame is reflected in his attitude that "to lay down [is]/Far mor magnanimous, than to assume" (II. 482-83). His "chief merit" then lies in his "voluntary renunciation of honors."[2] Through the correct reading of Satan's offers supported by his faith, the Son eliminates various means and ends to achieve earthly fame and chooses the right path of achieving fame, which is based on the pattern of humiliation and exaltation. The Son's choice fits the perfect pattern of "the true warfaring Christian."[3]

In the invocation of Paradise Regained, the poet mentions that he will "tell of deeds/Above heroic" (I. 14-15). The offers of Satan in the temptation are characterized by the typical deeds and rewards of earthly heroes,

[1]Ibid., p. 97.

[2]Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero, p. 152.

[3]Areopagitica, Prose Works, II, 68.

which contrast with and parody the pattern of Christian heroism. The heroic norm of the Son is based on lowliness, obedience, suffering, and patience, which transcend the false values of the secular heroes--Stoic pride, arrogance, honor, glory, and power. By "suffering for truth's sake" and through the culminative rejection of Satanic offers, the Son fulfills the norm of the "Suffering Servant" and sets the pattern of Christian heroism. Laying aside the form of God, but assuming "the form of servant," the Son proves himself by merit as the "True Image of the Father" (IV. 596). He submits with faith his honors to the glory of God for the redemption of mankind: God observes the Son's right choice based on obedience and faith and rewards him with honors.

Thus the Son sets the norm of "Suffering Servant" or the exemplary pattern of achieving fame through the path of humiliation which precedes ultimate exaltation. The banquet scene with the angelic hymn serves as the premise to the final exaltation of the Son in Revelation. The Son's voluntary acceptance of human form and his subsequent triumph over Satanic temptation by "humiliation and strong sufferance" prove himself to be an abler Job (I. 151-55). The experiences of the Old Testament heroes and of the classical types of the Son are subsumed in the suffering of the Son: he puts their experiences into the pattern of the "Suffering Servant" through the ministry of redemption so

that each man may imitate and be saved. And it is only through following the norm of the "Suffering Servant" that one can achieve heavenly fame:

> ...though he was in the form of God...[he] emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross. Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.[1]

[1]Philippians 2:6-11.

Chapter 4

FAME IN SAMSON AGONISTES

THE NEGATIVE VIEW OF FAME

Harapha

Milton finds in Harapha in Samson Agonistes (as in Satan and the fallen angels in Paradise Lost) the norm of false fame based on military prowess. Just as Satan and the fallen angels possess the compendium of worldly might, Harapha resembles in prowess the classical, chivalric, and biblical heroes of earthly fame. Though, as Steadman correctly observed, Harapha possesses in particular the chief characteristics of the biblical "men of renown" and his character and significance derive largely from the account of Goliath in I Samuel 17,[1] some critics sought to find in him classical and chivalric derivatives. Parker maintained that the characterization of Harapha--"the introduction of an insolent giant, the frank depiction of a noisy quarrel, the tendency to mix laconic insult with formal debate"-- is based on a familiar Euripidean prototype, the blusterer.[2] In Boughner's opinion, on the other hand, the depiction of

[1]Steadman, "'Men of Renown': Heroic Virtue and the Biblical Giants," Milton's Epic Characters, pp. 185, 193.

[2]William Parker, Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in Samson Agonistes (Hamden: Archon Books, 1963), pp. 122-23.

the Philistine giant derives from the romances of chivalry. He argues that "Harapha is a boastful knight strongly recalling Spenser's Braggadocchio."[1] The characteristic features of the braggart soldier in the Renaissance comedy are reflected in this character:

> Very different and also very modern is Harapha's emphasis on his "honour," which he has won by mortal duel"; his knightly disdain for Samson's feats of strength and unchivalric equipment, and a preference for the "glorious arms" worn in battle by heroes and for a combat "in camp or listed field"; his pretended lament that "fortune" in the past has prevented the two from meeting and now makes it impossible for a "noble Warriour" to stoop to such an unworthy "match"; and his taking refuge, when directly challenged by Samson, in the pretext that "no man of arms" would fight with a condemned man.[2]

It is not surprising, however, that these critics discovered the various types of secular heroism in the characterization of Harapha. As in the case of the biblical "men of renown" whose heroic virtue is placed on valor void

[1]Daniel Boughner, "Milton's Harapha and Renaissance Comedy," ELH, XI (1944), 297.

[2]Ibid., p. 298.

of true virtue, both classical and chivalric heroes share their interests in the destructive might alone. In all three cases, physical strength is the prominent virtue for the individual hero as a means to self-glorification. They resemble in their deeds their vainglorious pride. The contemptible and insolent blusterer of the Euripidean plays is not a far cry from the disdainful and boastful braggart of the Renaissance comedy. They possess a Satanic "sense of injured merit" (PL, I. 98) and are like the proud and disdainful Achilles who seeks to retain personal honor. Harapha, then, possesses the norm of the secular hero who is "wholly dependent on physical force"[1] in his zeal for honor and renown on earth. Though Milton's interpretation of false fame is reflected in these characteristic features of secular heroism represented by Harapha, it suffices to simply look to the biblical sources for the characterization of him.

The Philistine hero appears as a giant of Gath who is "of stock renowned/As Og or Anak and the Emims old...." (1079-80). Both the giants, "men of renown" of Genesis 6:4, and the "giants, the sons of Anak" in Numbers 13:33, are called Nephilim.[2] The Nephilim of Genesis had been

[1]Parker, p. 122.

[2]John Steadman, "'Men of Renown': Heroic Virtue and the Giants of Genesis 6:4 (Paradise Lost, XI, 638-99)," Philological Quarterly, XL (1961), 584-85.

traditionally noted for their violent exploits, and Milton might have found the similar heroic attributes of destructive forces in the Nephilim, "the sons of Anak." As Harapha himself claims to be descended from a "stock renowned" equal to the giant races of Og, Anak, and Emims, he is the type of the Old Testament giants renowned for their military prowess. As the "men of renown" "in acts of prowess" seek "the highest pitch/Of human glory" (PL, XI. 693-94, 789), Harapha, likewise, is the "man of arms" (1226) who seeks "the glory of prowess" (1098). The account of the Chorus after the departure of Harapha recalls Michael's account of the "men of renown" in Paradise Lost:

> ...the mighty of the earth, th'oppressor,
> The brute and boist'rous force of violent men,
> Hardy and industrious to support
> Tyrannic power, but raging to pursue
> The righteous and all such as honor truth!
>
> (1272-76)

For further evidence that Milton conceived his interpretation of false fame in Harapha by modelling him after the type of the biblical giants, it is necessary to look into the parallel situation of Harapha in the drama and Goliath in I Samuel 17. The Philistine giant is the "father of five sons,/All of gigantic size, Goliah chief" (1248-49). Obviously, Milton invested Harapha with various attributes of Goliath. Both giants are of Gath and the mighty warriors

of the Philistines. Samson's description of Harapha's "gorgeous arms" (1119) is reminiscent of Goliath's massive armaments: like his son, Harapha wears helmet, coat of mail, greaves, spear, and shield (1119-1122). To stress Harapha's heavy dependence on arms, Milton adds extra armaments--"brigandine of brass" (1120), "Vant-brace," "gauntlet" (1121). Harapha's spear, "A weaver's beam" (1122), strongly recalls Goliath's weapon: "the shaft of his spear was like a weaver's beam" (I Samuel 17:7). These "glorious arms" (1130), as Harapha claims, are the "ornament and safety" (1132) for the Philistine giants. Furthermore, both giants disdain their seemingly weak opponents: Harapha's statement to Samson that "To combat with a blind man I disdain,/And thou hast need much washing to be touched" (1106-07) parallels the account of Goliath's attitude toward David: "when the Philistine looked, and saw David, he disdained him; for he was but a youth, ruddy and comely in appearance" (I Samuel 17:42). Both Harapha and his son show complete trust in arms, and their disdainful attitude toward their adversaries is the sign of vainglorious pride in their specious strength.

Throughout his encounter with Samson, Harapha stresses his personal and national honor:

> that honor,
> Certain to have won by mortal duel from thee.
> I lose, prevented by thy eyes put out. (1101-03)

.....

[Samson is] no worthy match
For valor to assail, nor by the sword
Of noble warrior, so to stain his honor....
(1164-66)

To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.
(1226)

.....

...can my ears unused
Hear these dishonors.... (1231-32)

Harapha's main concern (like that of the biblical giants and the secular heroes) is to retain his earthly fame by relying on his physical strength, which necessitates carnal armaments. Possessing pride in himself and scoffing at his opponent, Harapha proves himself to be a "vain boaster" (1227) and a "baffled coward" (1237). Like Goliath, who vaunts that "I will give your flesh to the birds of the air and to the beasts of the field" (I Samuel 17:44), but was killed by David, Harapha's boast that "I should have forced thee soon wish other arms,/Or left thy carcass where the ass lay thrown" (1096-97) ends in humiliation. The Chrous describes the giant's departure thus:

His giantship is gone somewhat crestfall'n,
Stalking with less unconscionable strides,
And lower looks, but in a sultry chafe. (1244-46)

In the presence of God, he appears as a caricature of David

and Samson, who put complete trust in God unarmed. It is through their trust in God that Samson and David brought the Philistine giants into the state of shame. David manifests his reliance on God in his encounter with Goliath--"I come to you in the name of the LORD" (I Samuel 17:45)--and fights with stones. Though Samson does not physically fight with Harapha, he achieves spiritual triumph over his opponent with "plain heroic magnitude of mind/And celestial vigor armed" (1279-80). Besides, if he would have a combat with Harapha, he would be "weaponless himself" (130) and would use merely "an oaken staff" (1123). In contrast with the giants' regard for their fame and glory, both Samson and David seek the glory of God in overcoming evil.

Harapha's spiritual defeat foreshadows the final defeat of Dagon and the Philistines at the end of the drama. The Chorus, after the departure of Harapha, describes Samson's spiritual victory over the wicked:

> He [Samson] all their ammunition
> And feats of war defeats
> With plain heroic magnitude of mind
> And celestial vigor armed;
> Their armories and magazines contemns,
> Renders them useless, while
> With winged expedition
> Swift as the lightning glance he executes

> His errand on the wicked, who surprised
> Lose their defense, distracted and amazed.
>
> (1277-86)

At the same time, this passage is a figure of the defeat of the Antichrist by Christ and the saints in the Book of Revelation. B. Lewalski regards Harapha as an antitype in Revelation:

> Harapha, the formidable giant in league with the Philistine powers, evokes the great beast (Antichrist) associated with the kings of the earth and their armies, who combats with the King seated upon the white horse (Christ the Judge).[1]

She further comments that, as Harapha retreats before Samson's moral courage, the defeat of the antitypes likewise is achieved primarily by the spiritual strength (rather than the physical) of the type (Christ and his followers).[2] Here, one must also realize Milton's emphasis on one's physical strength interacting with his spiritual strength, as in the case of Samson, who gradually regains strength through spiritual regeneration. Thus, Harapha, as an antitype of Revelation, becomes the paragon of the wicked (Satan and

[1]Barbara Lewalski, "Samson Agonistes and the 'Tragedy' of the Apocalypse," PMLA, LXXXV (1970), 1059.

[2]Ibid.

his followers) whose final defeat (spiritual and physical) culminates in humiliation. As in Satan's case, Harapha's "unwilling humiliation"[1] before God and his aspiration for fame and glory lead to his ultimate defeat.

Hence, Milton's conception of false fame is reflected in Harapha, a "man of arms," whose characteristic features derive largely from the biblical giants, "men of renown" in Genesis, and Goliath in I Samuel 17. Lacking faith in God and not seeking the honor of God, Harapha and the biblical giants put trust in their physical strength and arms to seek fame and glory of their own. Harapha possesses the physical strength without the "heroic magnitude of mind," and his presumptuous fortitude is parodic of the earlier Samson. Unlike Samson, who undergoes spiritual regeneration and regains faith in God, Harapha proves himself merely the victim of his own vainglorious pride. His defeat and humiliation shadow the final divine judgment on the wicked.

Dalila

Just as the giant Harapha is the champion of the Philistines, Dalila is the national heroine of the idolatrous. Ironically, it is Dalila (and not Samson) who has sacrificed "Private respects" (868) for "the public good" (867) to save her country from the national enemy in honor of Dagon.

[1]Mary Pecheux, "'O Foul Descent!': Satan and the Serpent Form," Studies in Philology, LXII (1965), 195.

Unlike the earlier Samson, she is "the pious deliverer of her people and the zealous champion of her god."[1] Her motives for the deeds (as she shows in her later interchange with Samson) lie in her zeal for fame and for "The public marks of honor and reward" (992) in the heathen world. Milton distinguishes the true heroic virtues in Samson from the false represented by Dalila. The poet invests Dalila with a seemingly heroic role, a parody of Samson's role as a deliverer. Serving for the Idol and for the "feigned religion" (872), the Philistine heroine wants earthly rewards and fame for her human kind of victory. Though Samson falls through pride, he manifests his true heroic virtues through regeneration and becomes the champion of God in the end. Dalila, on the other hand, gains false victory by deceiving Samson, and her pride culminates in the final humiliation brought by Samson at the Philistine feast. She fulfills her role as a deliverer in complete isolation from God, and her prophecy for future fame is completely shattered by the destruction of the Philistines.

In her appeals to Samson, Dalila employs various specious reasonings until finally she reveals her zeal for duty and fame. She utilizes her "circling wiles" (871) to hold Samson in her power in the hope that she would establish her future fame among the Philistines. Milton endows

[1]Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero, p. 156.

Dalila with various attributes of the conventional temptress who swerves a hero from the course of heroic action through bondage. It was through "amorous reproaches" (393) and sensual allurements that Dalila won victory for her nation. Again in the drama, she seeks to win Samson by "feminine assaults" (403).

The Chorus's description of Dalila's entrance provides her not only with the feminine superficiality but also with the masculine boldness fit for the Philistine champion. On the one hand, she is a "rich Philistian matron" (722), "bedecked, ornate, and gay" (712) with "An amber scent of odorous perfume" (720). On the other, she is

> Like a stately ship
> Of Tarsus, bound for th' isles
> Of Javan or Gadire,
> With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
> Sails filled, and streamers waving,
> Courted by all the winds that hold them play....
> (714-19)

The ship simile and the comparison of her with the sea (710) suggest that Dalila is the champion of the Philistines, who worship "Dagon their sea-idol" (13). The allusions are "the major indication of her power. She is able to control the sea,"[1] whereas Samson could not (198-200).

[1]John Carey, "Sea, Snake, Flower, and Flame in 'Samson Agonistes,'" Modern Language Review, LXII (1967), 396.

With tears Dalila begins her speech "Like a fair flower surcharged with dew" (728). Her first appeal to Samson is to show "feigned remorse" (752) in her pretended love for him. She argues that she is penitent and the "conjugal affection" (739) has urged her to wish to recompense her "unfortunate misdeed" (747). As Samson rightly perceives, Dalila's counterfeit effort for repentance is merely the "wonted arts,/...of every woman false like [her]" (748-49). For her own benefit, she attempts to assail Samson's weakness to hold him in her power once again. Unable to persuade Samson in her first attempt, she next comes up with the different reasonings. It was, as the temptress urges, her weakness, a common feminine curiosity in her that sought Samson's secrets and made them known to the public. She further contends that, as she is guilty for her weakness, so Samson is to be blamed for his weakness in trusting her frailty:

> Let weakness then with weakness come to parle,
> So near related, or the same of kind. (785-86)

Her persuasive appeal continues thus: "The jealousy of love" (791) in her is the cause of her deeds. She maintains that to hold Samson in her power by learning his secrets is to make him hers and "love's prisoner" (808), since, by doing so, he may neither desert her as he did his former wife at Timna, nor risk his life in "perilous enterprises" (804). Moreover, Dalila was assured by the Philistines

that they would hold Samson safe in custody. Inventing these fallacious arguments, she asks forgiveness:

> love hath oft, well meaning, wrought much woe,
> Yet always pity or pardon hath obtained. (813-14)

Dalila's appeals to weakness and love resemble Eve's attitude and pleas to Adam after her transgression. Eve's reproach to Adam that "Hadst thou been firm and fixed in thy dissent,/Neither had I transgressed, nor thou with me" (PL, IX. 1161-62) parallels Dalila's accusation of Samson's effeminacy: "To what I did thou show'dst me first the way" (781). As Eve sought to enjoy godlike fruition out of curiosity, Dalila likewise (according to her) aspires to "enjoy/The public marks of honor and reward" through her inquisitive mind. Eve's jealousy for Adam that God may create another Eve unless he partakes in her sin is like Dalila's jealous mind to make Samson the partner in her love. Though Eve repents later, the Philistine heroine remains as an instrument of her god and leaves Samson prophesying her future fame which will never be fulfilled.

Unlike Adam, who submits to Eve, Samson this time resists Dalila's temptation and reveals her falsehood. Recognizing his earlier effeminacy as his own fault, Samson observes that Dalila's weakness is her excuse for not being able to resist Philistine gold. And her plea does not deserve remission, since "All wickedness is weakness" (834). Samson's earlier experience has taught him that Dalila's

professed love amounts merely to her lust:

> But love constrained thee? Call it furious rage
> To satisfy thy lust: love seeks to have love;
> My love how couldst thou hope, who took'st the way
> To raise in me inexpiable hate,
> Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betrayed?
>
> (836-40)

Her tactful rhetoric is useful only to reveal "her lust, desire for power, and greed."[1]

Failing yet again to regain Samson in her control, she gradually reveals her zeal for honor and glory in her following arguments. If not obedient to her husband, Dalila is loyal to civil duty and religion. Persuaded by the magistrates, princes, and the priests of her country to seek honorable and glorious deeds for the nation and Dagon, she had to surrender her love of Samson. Yet Dalila is unable to deceive Samson. Though she says that she was forced to yield her love for Samson to public duty, it was her "zeal.../To please [her] gods" (895-96) that moved her to misdeed. If her love had been sincere, she would not have betrayed Samson as she did. Contrary to Dalila, who, as a type of romantic heroine, follows the tradition of courtly love by asserting female sovereignty, Samson perceives the

[1]Ann Gossman, "Milton's Samson as the Tragic Hero Purified by Trial," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LXI (1962), 538.

biblical ideal of male superiority and the right order of nature.[1] Just as Eve's aspiration to be equal in love with her husband is a transgression against God, Dalila's zeal and disobedience to Samson are a violation of the law of nature and thus of "God's universal law":

> Therefore God's universal law
> Gave to the man despotic power
> Over his female in due awe,
> Nor from that right to part an hour,
> Smile she or lour:
> So shall he least confusion draw
> On his whole life, not swayed
> By female usurpation, nor dismayed. (1053-1060)

Violating the law of God, she follows the false standard of values set by the "feigned religion" of her country. As Samson recognizes, she has been obedient to the impious and corrupted state, the enemy of God's nation, Israel:

> No more thy country, but an impious crew
> Of men conspiring to uphold their state
> By worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends
> For which our country is a name so dear.
> (891-94)

And the religion of her state is a mere invention of the false gods:

[1]Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero, p. 134.

gods unable
To acquit themselves and prosecute their foes
But by ungodly deeds, the contradiction
Of their own deity, gods cannot be. (896-99)

Dalila's apparent virtues are then grounded on false civil and religious justice. She is desirous to glorify the Idol and thus to bring honor to herself.

Yet once more, Dalila shifts her position and tries to reassert her power over her husband. She asks forgiveness and a chance to expiate by offering him "domestic ease" (917) and sensual pleasure. In stressing Samson's unfortunate condition, she insists on her power to remedy his plight:

I to the lords will intercede, not doubting
Their favorable ear, that I may fetch thee
From forth this loathsome prison-house, to abide
With me, where my redoubled love and care
With nursing diligence, to me glad office,
May ever tend about thee to old age.... (920-25)

She ends the statement thus: "That what by me thou hast lost thou least shall miss" (927). Again, the temptress is merely revealing her hypocrisy and counterfeit love for Samson. "Here is no real acceptance of guilt but rather a statement of her power to set right even this situation."[1]

[1]Thomas Kranidas, "Dalila's Role in Samson Agonistes," Studies in English Literature, VI (1966), 133.

Once being "love's prisoner," Samson will not be caught in Dalila's "snare" (931) again. Her "sorceries" do not work on him any more:

> Thy fair enchanted cup and warbling charms
> No more on me have power, their force is nulled;
> So much of adder's wisdom I have learnt
> To fence my ear against thy sorceries. (934-37)

The passage has been generally interpreted as an allusion to the myth of Circe and the Sirens.[1] Like the mythical temptresses, Dalila appeals to the delights of the senses and is skilled in the "wonted arts" of flattery and deceit. All three cases involve the theme of moral slavery to a loose woman.[2] As in the case of the victim of Sirens, Samson is brought to shipwreck (198-99) by Dalila.[3] Here, Dalila's employment of the "enchanted cup" of Circe and the "warbling charms" of Sirens proves useless to Samson, who has gained "adder's wisdom" to "fence" his ear against her "sorceries." To live with Dalila "in perfect thraldom" (946) to her will is to admit the condition of her soul and thus to become

[1]The allusion of Circe's control over Odysseus' crew in Eve's handling of the beast of Eden (PL, IX. 519-22) further emphasizes the resemblance between Dalila and Eve. See Fumio Ochi, Milton Ronko (Milton: Critical Essays) (Tokyo: Nanundo, 1959), p. 154.

[2]John Steadman, "Notes: Dalila, the Ulysses Myth, and Renaissance Allegorical Tradition," Modern Language Review, LVII (1962), 561.

[3]Ibid., p. 563.

servile to sensual appetite: "This jail I count the house of liberty/To thine whose doors my feet shall never enter" (949-50). After failing in her tactics of deceit and flattery, she directly appeals to the senses as the last resort: "Let me approach at least, and touch thy hand" (951). Samson here is offered a parody of meaningful contact with God.[1] She is unable not only to bring Samson back into the state of spiritual servitude but also to overpower him through physical contact.

Having exhausted all her meretricious skills and arts, Dalila realizes that she cannot bring Samson back into her power and that there is no need to assume pretense. As the Chorus observes, she finally reveals her motive for betraying Samson and for coming back to reseduce him: "...a manifest serpent by her sting/Discovered in the end, till now concealed" (997-98). She exposes her pride and reveals her false intent:

> Why do I humble thus myself, and suing
> For peace, reap nothing but repulse and hate?
> Bid go with evil omen and the brand
> Of infamy upon my name denounced? (965-68)

Dalila dismisses her tactics of feminine submissiveness and rejects her pretended concern for Samson. Her real concern (when she betrayed Samson and throughout her visit to him)

[1]Kranidas, p. 134.

has been to save her face and to achieve fame in her country:

> Fame, if not double-faced, is double-mouthed,
> And with contrâry blast proclaims most deeds;
> On both his wings, one black, th' other white,
> Bears greatest names in his wild airy flight.
>
> (971-74)

Though she stands defamed in God's nation, she is a national heroine according to the Philistine standard--the standard based on a false set of values. She prophesies her future fame (though unfulfilled) in her nation:

> in my country where I most desire,
> In Ekron, Gaza, Asdod, and in Gath,
> I shall be named among the famousest
> Of women, sung at solemn festivals,
> Living and dead recorded, who, to save
> Her country from a fierce destroyer, chose
> Above the faith of wedlock bands; my tomb
> With odors visited and annual flowers. (980-87)

She herself uncovers finally that her former arguments of penitence, weakness, love, religious and public duty, and personal sacrifice for Samson are mere tactics to augment her fame. In reality, she has exercised her power through lust as a means to establish her fame.

As in the case of Harapha, Dalila's show of pride leads to humiliation. It is Dalila who is shipwrecked in

the end; it is Samson who becomes the true deliverer of the nation and whose tomb will be visited by his people. Instead of enjoying "The public marks of honor and reward," Dalila ends in humility and destruction. Finally, the Chorus comments on the contrasting nature of Dalila's outward appearance and inward reality:

> Whate'er it be, to wisest men and best
> Seeming at first all heavenly under virgin veil,
> Soft, modest, meek, demure,
> Once joined, the contrary she proves, a thorn
> Intestine, far within defensive arms
> A cleaving mischief, in his way to virtue
> Adverse and turbulent; or by her charms
> Draws him awry enslaved
> With dotage, and his sense depraved
> To folly and shameful deeds which ruin ends.
>
> (1034-43)

To hold Samson under her amorous bondage and thus to assert her power, she assumes humility and chaste look under false pretense, but reveals her fraudulent nature in the end. By making Dalila Samson's wife, Milton enlarges the scope of her significance as an antitype in the Book of Revelation. With her heavenly look under "virgin veil" and with her apparent virtues ("Soft, modest, meek, demure"), she parodies the bride of the Lamb. Her marriage to Samson is likewise a parody of Samson's marriage with the Lamb.

Actually, she shadows the nature of "Babylon the great, mother of harlots and of earth's abominations" (Revelation 17:5). As an antitype, she is "the Great Whore of Babylon, the epitome of all idolatry and sensuality, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication (idolatry)."[1] Many of Dalila's salient qualities--her "bedecked, ornate, and gay" appearance, her appeal for sensual pleasure, her betrayal of Samson in league with the Philistine powers, her fame achieved through idolatrous service to Dagon, her skill in the sorceries indicated by Samson's allusion to Circe's "cup," and her serpent-like nature--anticipate the elements characterized by "the Great Whore" in the Book of Revelation.[2] With all their qualities in full sway both exercise their power in lust to achieve fame. Hence, Dalila's pride and her subsequent humiliation adumbrate the glory and the final defeat of an antitype, the "mother...of earth's abominations." And the Philistine heroine's fall culminates when the divine vengeance falls upon the Whore.

[1]Lewalski, "Samson Agonistes and the 'Tragedy' of the Apocalypse," p. 1058.

[2]Ibid., p. 1059. "The woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet, and bedecked with gold and jewels and pearls, holding in her hand a golden cup full of abominations and the impurities of her fornication; and on her forehead was written a name of mystery: 'Babylon the great, mother of harlots and of earth's abominations.' And I saw the woman, drunk with the blood of the saints and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." (Rev. 17:4-6).

Milton invests Dalila with many characteristic features of the "false women."[1] In her appeals to lust, she employs various tactics and arts, many of which derive from the conventional lure of the temptress. And her skill contributes to one end. Throughout her visit to Samson, her concern is placed only on her fame and honor in her nation. As a Philistine heroine, she parodies the role of Samson as deliverer. Unlike Samson, who undergoes spiritual regeneration and becomes the true champion of God, Dalila, swelling with pride and with vainglorious aspiration for fame, precipitates her final humiliation. If Milton found in Harapha the conception of false fame based on military prowess, he recognized in Dalila the similar conception, though different in nature--the false aspiration for glory grounded on lust.

THE POSITIVE VIEW OF FAME

Samson and the "Hero of Faith"

In Samson Agonistes, Milton's view of true fame is expressed in Samson, God's "faithful champion" (1751) who,

[1]In addition to the type of "false women" discussed in this section, one more classical analogue of Dalila may be added. Parker, in Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in Samson Agonistes, p. 127, suggests that Helen in Troades by Euripides possesses Dalila-like nature. In relation to the conception of false fame, the most notable feature out of many common characteristics between the two characters is that both sought glory of their own by betraying their husbands.

despite his fall from God's way, achieves spiritual redemption through trial and suffering. Gradually coming to perceive God's purpose behind each temptation of the visitors, Samson recovers his lost inward virtues or the right functioning of his faculties and manifests his growing faith in God, which enables him to complete his role of a deliverer as God's instrument. His triumphant achievement or his act of vengeance on the enemy at the Philistine feast is not only a proof of his seal of confidence in Jehovah and the culmination of his heroic martyrdom as a suffering hero. It is also a manifestation of God's bearing witness to Samson's rightful response to the divine calling, and of God's ultimate approval of Samson, at which point the "heroic Nazarite" (318) receives complete spiritual sanctification and sets the pattern for achieving true fame. The test of Samson's faith throughout the trial rests on the impossibility (judging from the fact of his present condition as a Philistine bondslave) of fulfilling the promise that he should deliver Israel.[1] The resolution of the tension between the prophecy and the fact is achieved in the end when the hero manifests his tested faith in his service to God. Only when Samson ceases to doubt divine will and

[1]Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero, p. 75; "'Faithful Champion': The Hero of Faith," Milton's Epic Characters, p. 57.

entrusts himself entirely to God's Providence can he fulfill his role as a deliverer. The fulfillment of the promise at the end of the drama shows that God rewards the hero for his faith and suffering. Thus, Samson's progressive confirmation of faith and his gradual inward regeneration become the key factor in his final bestowal of eternal fame by God.

Samson is listed in Hebrews 11:32 among the Old Testament heroes of faith, who "through faith subdued kingdoms" and "out of weakness were made strong."[1] However, by misplacing his confidence in Dalila, he loses control of his faculties and, as a result, suffers the loss of his inward virtues and his faith in God. The series of temptations in the drama provides for Samson the occasion to assert his inward conviction, firmly persisted against the present loss of his unique relationship with God. The nature of Samson's ordeal fits into the characteristics of the "good temptation," as Milton defines in De Doctrina Christiana (I, viii):

> A good temptation is that whereby God tempts even the righteous for the purpose of proving them, not as though he were ignorant of the disposition of their hearts, but for the purpose of exercising

[1]Michael Krouse, Milton's Samson and the Christian Tradition (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1949), p. 29; Steadman, "'Faithful Champion,'" Milton's Epic Characters, p. 46.

> or manifesting their faith or patience, as in the case of Abraham and Job; or of lessening their self-confidence, and reproving their weakness, that both they themselves may become wiser by experience, and others may profit by their example.[1]

The temptations offered to Samson, then, not only serve as a means to manifest or assert his faith and the subsequent virtues of patience and humility, but also enable him to overcome his inward weakness and to regain wisdom. Only then can Samson find the right path to the union with God and thus establish eternal fame.

In the preface to Samson Agonistes, Milton refers to "Paraeus, who, commenting on Revelation, divides the whole Book as a Tragedy, into Acts distinguisht each by a Chorus of Heavenly Harpings and Song between." The fact that Milton repeated the same reference in The Reason of Church Government suggests that he apparently conceived the drama as an apocalyptic tragedy modelled after Revelation. Milton's Samson is God's elect hero and saint whose regenerative experience is depicted in the manner of the embattled suffering and spiritual victory of the saints in the Book of Revelation. In both cases, the emphasis is placed on the

[1] Prose Works, IV, 209.

"patient endurance" and "faith"[1] of the saints, which bring them ultimate exaltation with apocalyptic victory over the reprobate. A passage from the Book of Revelation (though the Book itself "was written as a consolation for martyrs and for those under trial"[2]) may sum up Samson's whole experience:

> Do not fear what you are about to suffer. Behold, the devil is about to throw some of you into prison, that you may be tested, and for ten days you will be tested, and for ten days you will have tribulation. Be faithful unto death, and I will give you the crown of life. He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says....[3]

In the beginning of the drama, before any visitors arrive to put Samson into the labor of mind, the hero's concern falls on his physical suffering, though he realizes that he himself should be blamed for being blinded and enslaved. He laments the fact of his misery compared with his past glory: "what once I was, and what am now" (22). Being an object of "scorn and gaze" (34) among the enemies, and in a "debased" (37) fallen condition, he finds himself

[1]Revelation 3:10; 13:10.

[2]Lynn Sadler, "Typological Imagery in Samson Agonistes: Noon and the Dragon," ELH, XXXVII (1970), 196.

[3]Revelation 2:10-11.

questioning the divine prediction that he should be a deliverer of Israel:

> Promise was that I
> Should Israel from Philistian yoke deliver;
> Ask for this great deliverer now, and find him
> Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves,
> Himself in bonds under Philistian yoke. (38-42)

Yet he concedes that it was through his own weakness, a weakness of strength, "Proudly secure" (55), "without a double share/Of wisdom" (53-54), that he fell into the hands of Dalila; thus "Whom have I to complain of but myself?" (46). At the same time, while he questions the validity of divine prediction, he twice shows the sign of obedience to God's Providence:

> Yet stay, let me not rashly call in doubt
> Divine prediction. (43-44)
> .....
> But peace! I must not quarrel with the will
> Of highest dispensation, which herein
> Haply had ends above my reach to know. (60-62)

Despite Samson's effort not to doubt the will of God, and his acknowledgment of his personal responsibility and weakness for the unfulfilled promise, he still stresses the fact of his physical pain, which is merely an external consequence of his spiritual degeneration. He complains mainly of his "loss of sight" (67) and of his "Life in

captivity/Among inhuman foes" (108-09). His lament that he finds no "Ease" "to the mind/From restless thoughts" (18-19) is a sign of the disorder of his faculties. His question that "why was the sight/To such a tender ball as th' eye confined?" (93-94) is a parody of his spiritual blindness. Here Samson assumes the stature of a secular hero or an injured hero of earthly fame. The faint sign of his reliance on God shows only that he is, at the present moment, subjected to the carnal kind of faith and is not aware of his need to seek God's grace.

When the Chorus appears, they reiterate and elaborate on Samson's understanding of his fallen state. They find him "As one past hope, abandoned,/And by himself given over" (120-21). By stressing his physical "bondage" and "lost sight" (152), the Danites compare his past heroic stature with his present abject state. With an effort to find consolation for Samson, the Chorus describes him as a famous Greek and medieval hero of tragedy. On the one hand, the hero, "That heroic, that renowned,/Irresistible Samson" (125-26) is portrayed in terms especially reminiscent of his Gentile counterpart, the paragon of physical and moral strength, Hercules.[1] On the other hand, Samson, falling

[1]Samson is traditionally being associated with Hercules (and incidentally with Christ) and many parallels were drawn between them by the medieval and the Renaissance Christian commentators. The Chorus's reference to Samson as one with extraordinary physical strength, and their allusions to several of his exploits--his slaying of lions, his use of

"from the top of wondrous glory.../To lowest pitch of abject fortune" (167, 169), is a victim of the goddess Fortuna and her wheel. Though the Chorus suggests for Samson the necessity of regaining "inward light" (162) and of "virtue" (173) paired with strength (as the hero himself has acknowledged that he is deficient in wisdom), their consolation is inadequate or parodic of Christian consolation. By seeing Samson in the light of the tragic Hercules, an exemplar of strength matched by his moral fortitude, the Danites imply that his sin can be expiated (like that of Hercules) through Stoic endurance and suffering.[1] Again, if Samson is a victim of "our fickle state" (164) and "the sphere of fortune" (172), whereby he suffers debasement falling from the state of worldly honor and dignity, he can recover his former state by restoring reason, wisdom, and virtue.[2] Overwhelmed

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jawbone as weapon, and his carrying of the gates of Gaza--recall the specific analogies drawn between the two heroes during the Patristic period. See Krouse, pp. 44-45; Eugene Waith, The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare, and Dryden (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1962), p. 39.

[1]Hercules is conventionally regarded as a supreme exemplar of heroic virtue and Stoic endurance. Regarding the characteristics of Hercules or Herculean hero, see Waith, The Herculean Hero; Merritt Hughes, "The Christ of Paradise Regained and the Renaissance Heroic Tradition," Studies in Philology, XXXV (1938), 269.

[2]Howard Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), pp. 13, 67-68.

by Samson's miserable physical change, the Chorus considers him as a parodic counterpart of the Christian hero of fame, who, if he had kept his virtue might have been "Universally crowned with highest praises" (175). Though the right virtue is necessary for the regeneration of Samson, their view of his fall is one-sided: God has justly inflicted punishment on Samson through universal law for his lost virtues. Like Samson, they disregard his loss of responsiveness to God's grace. In the background of the Chorus's interpretation of Samson's state is incorporated the Greek and medieval conception of chance or fate in conflict with man's free will.[1] Jebb states that "The subject of Greek tragedy...was the conflict between free will and destiny, between an absolute inward liberty and an inexorable external necessity."[2] The Chorus's later observation of Samson's death as "self-killed,/Not willingly, but tangled in the fold/Of dire necessity" (1664-66) suggests that they remain to have limited and vague understanding of his experience[3] till the end (though they seem to gain full comprehension after the play is over). Actually, what the Chorus offers

[1]Ibid., pp. 4-13.

[2]R. C. Jebb, Samson Agonistes and the Hellenic Drama (London: Henry Frowde, 1908), pp. 4-5.

[3]They regard Samson as a victim of fate just as Hercules and the medieval tragic heroes were subjected to fate. In Jebb's opinion, Hercules is a victim of fate.

to Samson here are the parodies of the Christian conception of free will and God's providential plan, of Christian consolation, and of heavenly fame. Appealing only to God's universal justice or "external necessity," they fail to perceive God's purpose behind Samson's experience and see only the surface of it. In fact, God is accommodating or giving a sign to Samson through His apparent justice to evoke the sinner's responsiveness to His mercy or grace. Hence, Samson's playing the role of the Greek and medieval tragic hero or the Chorus's parodic interpretation of his fallen state is presented as God's sign given to Samson in order that he may become aware of His purpose and thereby regain complete faith. The rest of the consolations offered by the subsequent visitors in the drama are parodic, interpreted in a Christian sense. Samson gradually learns to read God's purpose or His signs through coming to perceive the visitors' parodic or surface interpretation of God's ways.

At this stage, it is yet necessary for Samson to turn from his thought on himself toward God. After the entrance of the Chorus, Samson's chief affliction changes from his physical blindness to bitter shame among the fellow countrymen, a parody of the dishonor he has brought to God:

> Am I not sung and proverbed for a fool
> In every street, do they not say, "How well
> Are come upon him his deserts"? (203-05)

In his attempt to save face, he shows an element of pride, which is the opposite of humility before God. When the Chorus asks him about his marriage choices, Samson reveals without much awareness the superiority of God's Providence or prevenient grace over the Law. He correctly responded to the "intimate impulse" (223) coming from God for his first marriage, but his second nuptial choice was not motivated by Him. Samson "thought it lawful from [his] former act" (231) to marry Dalila and fell into her "accomplished snare" (230). His second choice is a parody of his first response. Though he admits his weakness (233-36), he is not yet quite aware that he failed his faith in God by following his own trust and the human law instead of responding to His grace. He forgets here that his strength for the mission is contingent on his responsiveness to God's calling. Not taking much notice of his loss of faith, Samson instead assumes arrogance when he accuses "Israel's governors and heads of tribes" (242) of persisting "deaf" (249) and heaping "ingratitude" on his "worthiest deeds" (276). However, Samson's rebuke of the Israelites that they love "Bondage with ease [more] than strenuous liberty" (271)[1] shadows forth his later realization of physical servitude as a manifestation of inward servitude in his encounter with Dalila.

[1]Samson's remarks on the spiritual condition of the Israelites recall Michael's prophecy in Paradise Lost on the wanderings in the wilderness.

In Samson's exchange with the Chorus hitherto examined, the hero broadens his concern of himself to that of his nation, though his recognition of guilt is self-centered. Enough signs are given to Samson through parodies--his marriage choice to Dalila, his sense of shame, the physical bondage of the Israelites--so that he may become aware of his fall from God's ways. Yet mainly appealing to his immediate circumstances or God's justice, Samson, despite his effort not to doubt the divine prediction, refuses to accept the possibility of God's fulfilling the prophecy. He "is tempted to indulge himself in the worst of sins: despair."[1] Whether to regard Samson's initial stage of mind as underlying his "remorse"[2] or his "conviction of sin,"[3] he, in any event, acknowledges primarily that he has, through his own weakness, failed in his role as a deliverer. And this realization or his reflection on the past experiences that led to his fall directs him toward a gradual return to God.

The effect of Samson's interchange with the Chorus appears just before the entrance of Manoa. He turns his

[1]John Hill, "Vocation and Spiritual Renovation in Samson Agonistes," Milton Studies II, ed. James Simmonds (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1970), p. 156.

[2]A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Tragic Effect in Samson Agonistes," Milton: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Arthur Barker (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p. 450.

[3]De Doctrina Christiana, I, xix, Prose Works, IV, 334.

thought on himself towards God's prophecy: "Me easily indeed mine may neglect,/But God's proposed deliverance not so" (291-92). With Manoa's visitation, Samson is given a chance to retrace his reflection in the previous exchange with the Chorus and thus to deepen his understanding of his fall. Samson's father shows the same reaction with the Chorus when he witnesses his son's "low dejected state" (338): "O miserable change! is this the man,/That invincible Samson, far renowned...." (340-41). Overwhelmed by grief for Samson's physical condition changed from his past glorious stature and strength (340-49); 361-67) (as Samson and the Chorus were), Manoa exhibits doubt in God's Providence:

> Alas, methinks whom God hath chosen once
> To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,
> He should not so o'erwhelm, and as a thrall
> Subject him to so foul indignities,
> Be it but for honor's sake of former deeds
> (368-72)

Like the Chorus and Samson, he appeals to God's justice alone. In being opposed to Manoa's charge against God, Samson himself, this time, defends the workings of God's will and acknowledges again his guilt:

> Appoint not heavenly disposition, father.
> Nothing of all these evils hath befall'n me
> But justly; I myself have brought them on,
> Sole author I, sole cause. (373-76)

Through Manoa's appeal to justice, Samson is urged to look into himself, his weakness that led him to his fall:

> foul effeminacy held me yoked
> Her bondslave; O indignity, O blot
> To honor and religion! servile mind
> Rewarded well with servile punishment!
> The base degree to which I now am fall'n,
> These rags, this grinding, is not yet so base
> As was my former servitude, ignoble,
> Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,
> True slavery, and that blindness worse than this,
> That saw not how degenerately I served. (410-19)

Samson shows a gradual change in himself. He concedes that not only the Israelites were servile to the ignoble ease, but he himself became a physical bondslave, a manifestation of his inner servitude brought on by his "foul effeminacy." He opens his eyes toward his inward self; what was his chief affliction--physical servitude and blindness--now seems vain. Here Samson shows a sign of the renewal of his faculties, which is soon to be followed by his strong assertion of hope and confidence in God.

Manoa, echoing the Chorus's questioning of God's purpose (237-39), a second time invites Samson to doubt God's Providence. By stressing the fact that his "marriage choices" (420) led Samson to a failure in his role as a deliverer, Manoa insinuates that the "Divine impulsion" (422)

proved abortive (420-26). Then he adds that, because of Samson's failure, Dagon will be magnified and God disglorified at the Philistine feast. Samson acknowledges that he has brought high praises to Dagon and dishonor to God and has inspired "diffidence of God, and doubt/In feeble hearts" (454-55) of the Israelites. Manoa's utterance of doubt in the divine Providence and his stress on "the depths of [Samson's] degradation and failure"[1] are presented for the hero as providing the means to recall his faith and hope in God. For the first time, he manifests his concern toward God, displaying his confident assurance in Him:

> This only hope relieves me, that the strife
> With me hath end; all the contest is now
> 'Twixt God and Dagon. (460-62)
> .....
> He, be sure,
> Will not connive, or linger, thus provoked,
> But will arise and his great name assert....
> (465-67)

At this point, Samson has no hope for himself and is not aware that he will be the instrument of God's justice on the enemy.

Then, there follows Manoa's "timely care" (602), his proposal of ransoming his son, a parody of God's ransoming

[1]James Hanford, "The Temptation Motive in Milton," Studies in Philology, XV (1918), 192.

Samson for the Israelites. He suggests that repentance (504), humility, and "filial submission" (511) are the way to please God and thereby to pay Samson's debt. But "if the punishment/Thou canst avoid, self-preservation bids" (504-05). It is "self-rigorous" (513), Manoa says, to choose "self-offense" (515) and death, but his ransom is God's intention He has set before Samson. Manoa misconstrues the nature of dedication and parodies God's providential plan set before Samson: he sees God as a wrathful tyrant who is appeased by his servant's resignation to passivity. What Manoa offers here is a physical and human kind of happiness with the superficial nature of dedication. Samson perceives that retirement to an easy life is not the way to reconciliation with God, though he realizes the necessity of seeking God's pardon. He learns from Manoa's parodic consolation the true nature of humility before God and that it was through pride and self-glorification that he fell into the "snare" of Dalila:

> Fearless of danger, like a petty god
> I walked about admired of all and dreaded
> On hostile ground, none daring my affront.
> Then swoll'n with pride into the snare I fell....
>
> (529-32)

Here Samson firmly acknowledges that he had neglected the source of his strength and thereby assumed self-confidence and relied on earthly fame (like a secular hero). By

failing to trust God, he misplaced his confidence in Dalila and carnal pleasure.

Despite his realization and his hope that God will "vindicate the glory of his name" (475), Samson is yet unaware of God's purpose. He feels the "swoonings of despair,/ And sense of Heav'n's desertion" (631-32):

> Now blind, disheartened, shamed, dishonored,
> quelled,
> To what can I be useful, wherein serve
> My nation, and the work from Heav'n imposed.
> (563-65)

Unable to hope for the fulfillment of his mission assigned from God, he desires "speedy death" (650) to hasten the end of his suffering. Harris points out that the traditional spiritual antidote for despair or nadir is patience.[1] To verify his statement, he shows that the Chorus, in response to Samson's despair, immediately comments on the "sayings of the wise" (652) "Extolling patience as the truest fortitude" (654). The Danites, Harris says, "have themselves no faith in its efficacy," since "overmastered by their sympathy for Samson in his degradation, they flail blindly at the encompassing wisdom of Jehovah."[2] After making some

[1]William Harris, "Despair and 'Patience as the Truest Fortitude' in Samson Agonistes," ELH, XXX (1963), 114.

[2]Ibid., p. 116.

comments on the additional, though important choral passage--"Unless he feel within/Some source of consolation from above" (663-64)--Harris observes that the passage contains a truth ironically unapparent to the Chorus:

> But present along with the appearance of things to them is the reality only the play itself unfolds. The first ode on "Patience as the truest fortitude" has suggested this traditional remedium to tristitia [despair] at the very moment of Samson's deepest despair and has ironically balanced the Chorus's rejection of it with a foreshadowing of ultimate victory through patience and divine sustenance.[1]

Employing the traditional mode of consolation, the Chorus is merely recollecting the classical idea on patience (a parody of Christian patience) at a fitting moment, for they, as Harris remarks, immediately discredit the passage not only by disparaging the virtue of patience (660-66) but also by questioning the workings of divine Providence (667-86). But ironically, it is through Samson's rightful response to the "consolation from above" and through his patience that he fulfills his role in the end. According to Milton's theology, the virtue of patience necessitates the ultimate

[1]Ibid., p. 117.

reliance on the divine Providence[1] or faith. And it also subsumes the virtue of humility. Samson will, by the end of the drama, manifest all these virtues, accompanied by, and requiring the right workings of his faculties with him. At this point, Samson's regeneration is yet incomplete.

Dalila's persuasive attempts to reenthrall Samson's mind are refuted by the hero in a harsh tone. Samson does not give any hint of submission to the temptress, for his experience in the previous temptations enables him to reject her confidently each step. By rejecting Dalila's offers, he practically overcomes his former weakness or renews faculties. When the temptress at first assumes a posture of feminine submission and shows a sign of "feigned remorse" (752), Samson immediately acknowledges that she is a false woman who tries his faith and patience (748-56). In response to her appeal to weakness, Samson admits his guilt and blindness to have succumbed to her:

> I to myself was false ere thou to me;
> Such pardon therefore as I give my folly,
> Take to thy wicked deed.... (824-26)

Then Samson, unconvinced by Dalila's assertion of her sense of civil and religious duty, perceives her submission to "feigned religion" and "hypocrisy" (872) and distinguishes them from the right religious and political grounds. By

[1] De Doctrina Christiana, II, iii, Prose Works, IV, 23.

accusing her of violating the rational order of nature that a wife must be obedient to her husband, and of her submission to the corrupt nation, he implies the superiority of God's ways over the human law, corrupt or uncorrupt. Here Samson comes to sense that he himself has misinterpreted God's sign by misplacing his faith in his wife. Finally, Dalila's vain appeal to lust and physical ease is shattered by Samson who has gained "adder's wisdom" (936). If once servile to passion and lust, he now shows his desire to regain rational liberty by rejecting Dalila: "This jail I count the house of liberty/To thine whose doors my feet shall never enter" (949-50). Though Samson still lacks hope for himself--"God sent her to debase me" (999)--he is already a potential champion of God who is to receive ultimate exaltation. Samson's total rejection of Dalila, who represents a parody of Samson's heroic role through false glorification, creates a firm stand for the possibility of his becoming God's hero with the reward of eternal fame. In this temptation, he not only experiences the trial of faith and patience, but also indicates his desire to regain rational liberty through coming to understand the nature of his guilt. The Chorus, though limited in their understanding, ironically predicts Samson's final acceptance by God:

> virtue which breaks through all opposition,
> And all temptation can remove,
> Most shines and most is ácceptáble above. (1050-52)

Samson's control of (or his desire to control) his faculties is an indication of his responsiveness to God's ways.[1] Moreover, his awareness of the superiority of God's ways over the (human) law prepares him for the correct reading of God's calling or his ultimate reliance on God's Providence in the end.

Finally, Samson's victory over the Philistine champion, who recalls the earlier Samson, concludes the major trial of his faith before God calls him to his service. Against Harapha's direct challenge to Samson's faith that the latter's strength is supported by "black enchantments" and "magician's art" (1133), Samson, forgetting his loss of strength, reasserts his firm confidence in God:

> I know no spells, use no forbidden arts;
> My trust is in the living God who gave me
> At my nativity this strength.... (1139-41)

When Harapha tries to cause Samson despair by reminding him of God's unfulfilled promise and of his present physical condition (1156-64), the hero assumes the role of God's champion in his challenge to single combat and declares his faith and hope reinforced by saintly humility:

> these evils I deserve and more,
> Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me
> Justly, yet despair not of his final pardon

[1]Sadler, "Regeneration and Typology," pp. 147, 149.

Whose ear is ever open, and his eye
Gracious to readmit the suppliant;
In confidence whereof I once again
Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight,
By combat to decide whose god is God,
Thine or whom I with Israel's sons adore.
(1169-77)

Here Samson is no longer conscious of his condition. Harapha's perverted view of God serves for Samson only to perceive God's purpose by responding to His Justice and Mercy simultaneously. With firm confidence, he manifests hope that he is capable of being God's instrument. When Harapha taunts Samson by calling him in Philistine terms "A murtherer, a revolter, and a robber" (1180), the potential hero of God shows in his reply a perfect understanding of his obligation toward the law (1204-06) and recalls with firm conviction his God's appointed task that he is to deliver Israel:

I was no private but a person raised
With strength sufficient and command from Heav'n
To free my country. (1211-13)

By dismissing Harapha and his military glory rested on vainglorious pride, Samson at the same time renews his faith in God and manifests himself as a liberated Christian hero of God.

After the exit of Harapha, Samson shows his intention

to wait by relying on Providence, though he still exhibits a faint sign of the lack of hope for himself in his wish for death:

> Come what will, my deadliest foe will prove
> My speediest friend, by death to rid me hence,
> The worst that he can give, to me the best.
> Yet so it may fall out, because their end
> Is hate, not help to me, it may with mine
> Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.
>
> (1262-67)

Without yet knowing that God will call him to his service through death, he predicts the coming fulfillment of his task. The Chorus too predicts and sums up Samson's heroic martyrdom by regarding him as a potential saint who delivers his people "With plain heroic magnitude of mind" (1279), at the same time proving his own deliverer through saintly patience.

The fulfillment of Samson's task is brought to realization through his correct reading of God's sign as a proof of his ultimate faith. At first Samson rejects the Philistine command to follow the human law: "Our Law forbids at their religious rites/My presence; for that cause I cannot come" (1320-21). As Michael tells Adam in Book XII of Paradise Lost, the Law is provided for man as a sign to show its inadequacy; for under the surface of the Law, only God's Justice becomes apparent. Samson, at first showing

dedication to the Law, proceeds beyond it to act on faith. Thus by appealing at first to the Law, and then to faith, Samson perceives and responds to God's twofold purpose, Justice and Mercy. And it is through his correct reading of "Some rousing motions" (1382) that Samson, becoming a deliverer of Israel and God's "faithful champion," merits ultimate fame. With his renewal of faith accompanied by renewed strength, he prepares for the final act:

> If there be aught of presage in the mind,
> This day will be remarkable in my life
> By some great act, or of my days the last.
>
> (1387-89)

"Patient but undaunted" (1623), he executes the appointed task of vengeance against God's enemy and the act of faith in God: "eyes fast fixed he stood, as one who prayed,/Or some great matter in his mind revolved" (1636-38).

Obviously, Samson Agonistes is a Greek tragedy with a Christian theme[1] or, simply, an apocalyptic tragedy whose "datum for the consolation" is "Revelation."[2] However, we, the readers, see the outcome of Samson's death through the eyes of the Chorus and Manoa. Their understanding of Samson's regenerative experience is limited, for, throughout

[1]Woodhouse, "Tragic Effect in Samson Agonistes," Milton: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Arthur Barker, p. 466.

[2]Sadler, "Typological Imagery in Samson Agonistes," p. 205.

the drama, they respond only to God's justice speaking under the Law alone.[1] As the Law (Justice) without the works of faith (Mercy) is the shadow of truth, the perspective by which the Chorus and Manoa see Samson's suffering and death is parodic of his true regenerative experience. Thus, as has been stated, they interpret Samson's change of fortune and fame in terms reminiscent of the traditional Greek or medieval hero who falls in defiance of justice, but transcends his human limitation through suffering and gains immortal fame.[2] It is through the parodic consolations of Manoa, the Chorus, and the descriptions by the messenger of Samson's act of destruction that we must perceive the hero's apocalyptic victory and his glorification. If Harapha and Dalila are antitypes of Revelation, Samson is the instrument of God's justice who, with Christ and the saints, executes the final judgment on the reprobate. The images of Samson applied by the Chorus as from "dragon" to "eagle" and to fiery phoenix (1690-1706) indicate the progressive regeneration of him moving toward God in his ultimate glorification.[3] Samson, once "a tame

[1]Sadler, "Regeneration and Typology," p. 151.

[2]See Waith, The Herculean Hero, pp. 37-38.

[3]Here again, the Chorus's understanding of Samson's experience is limited to his human regeneration and earthly fame.

wether" (538), but now being God's faithful servant, becomes an instrument of His judgment "dragon" (serpent)[1] to assail the "tame villatic fowl" (1695) (the idol-worshippers), the "dragon" (Satan) has created. The Philistine feast is a parody of "the marriage supper of the Lamb" in Revelation 19:9. The regenerate Samson, being invited to "the great supper of God" (Rev. 19:17-21), this time becomes a God's "fowl" and gorges with the flesh of the "Lords, ladies, captains, counselors,...priests" (1653), "armèd guards,/ Both horse and foot" (1617-18), archers, slingers, cataphracts and spears (1619), and all those who came to solemnize the feast (1656). The "horrid spectacle" (1542) Samson brings upon the Philistines is characterized by "hideous noise..../Horribly loud" (1509-10), "Ruin, destruction" (1514), trembling mountains (1648), tearing sky (1472), and the "burst of thunder" (1651): the verbal parallels in the Book of Revelation are "loud noises," "earthquake," "peals of thunder" (8:5), moving mountains, and the falling sky (6:13-15). Pulling the "two massy pillars" (1648) of the temple of Dagon, Samson becomes "a pillar in the temple of [his] God" (Rev. 3:12). He has become the liberator of the Israelites from the Philistines,

[1]In Paradise Lost, serpent is the instrument of Satan's crime as well as that of God's judgment. Likewise, the tails of the horse which judge the reprobate in Revelation are "like serpents, with heads, and by means of them they wound" (9:19). God, always turning evil to good purpose--as tyranny is God's sign provided for those who lost their right order of faculties--uses serpent as His instrument to recall the sinners to Him.

which shadows the liberation of the Hebrews from Rome (Babylon).[1] The image of the "eagle" applied to Samson suggests the higher stage of his regeneration, since the "eagle", one of the four creatures of God, sings with the saints for the praise of Him in Revelation. Finally, as a fiery phoenix, Samson completes his resurrection and achieves eternal fame.

Manoa's final consolation reflects, but parodies Samson's marriage with the Lamb. His attempt to wash off Samson's body covered with "The clotted gore" (1728) is the parody of Samson being washed white in the blood of the Lamb:

> These are they who have come out of the great tribulation; they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.[2]

Manoa's comment that "Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail" (1721) is a verbal parody of God's wiping away every tear from Samson's eyes.[3] The "branching palm" (1735) does not decorate Samson's monument, but he himself is given from God "palm branches" in his hand.[4] Instead of the "sweet

[1]Sadler, "Typological Imagery in Samson Agonistes," p. 198.

[2]Revelation 7:14.

[3]Revelation 7:17.

[4]Ibid., 7:9.

lyric song" (1737), nuptial song welcomes Samson. The virgins who visit Samson's tomb bewailing his unfortunate nuptial choice are actually the virgins of Revelation. Samson, no longer a tragic Hercules, is a "hero of faith" who regains eternal fame through coming to respond to God's calling and to His purpose behind the parodic consolations of the visitors. He has made the pattern of achieving fame for the Chorus, Manoa, and the Israelites, as well as for us, who must adapt its pattern to our dispensatory circumstances.

Samson and the Son

In Samson Agonistes, Samson, in his regenerative experience, follows the pattern of Christian merits and their rewards set by the Son in Paradise Regained. It is through the trial of faith, in which Samson regains rational liberty and learns to respond to God's grace, that he achieves heavenly fame. Though he existed before the Son's ministry of redemption takes place, he gains ultimate approval of God through his faith in Him. Milton expresses his belief in De Doctrina Christiana (I, xx) that those "who lived before Christ...should be saved by faith in God alone: still however through the sole merits of Christ."[1] In Book III of Paradise Lost, God declares that His grace will be vouchsafed in the fallen men and that some are chosen for peculiar grace. However, the Son's voluntary offer of

[1]Prose Works, IV, 340-41.

sacrifice is made to redeem man's mortal crime. Samson and the Old Testament heroes are God's electus and sanctus.[1] He is given a "Heav'n-gifted strength" (36), but falls from the saintly ways. Samson, an image of God's strength--as Adam was created in the image of God--forfeits his virtue through temptation, but gains apocalyptic victory of Revelation through trial and suffering. In his individual experience, he fulfills the total Scriptural pattern (fall, redemption, restoration), in which he "incorporates [the Son's] sacrificial and exemplary role through his faith in God."[2] Milton's interpretation of Samson's individual experience is best explained if we see in it a figural Scriptural pattern--the pattern to which Milton ascribes the Son's ministry of redemption as the setting up of the exemplary pattern of action for man's imitation and the Revelation as the fulfillment of the promised rewards for those who have suffered in the manner of the Son. In the drama, Milton's emphasis falls on the aspect of Samson as a suffering saint of Revelation and on his humiliation which precedes his ultimate exaltation. His apocalyptic victory with glorification is a consolatory promise of Revelation for those who suffer under trial, and his humiliation, a type

[1]Krouse, Milton's Samson and the Christian Tradition, p. 30.

[2]Sadler, "Typological Imagery in Samson Agonistes," p. 195; "Regeneration and Typology," p. 142.

of suffering undergone by the "Suffering Servant," the Son, in his ministry of redemption. The Son, "the historical individual, is himself the universal norm,"[1] and, in Paradise Regained, he exemplifies the way to achieve heavenly fame, the Messianic path of humiliation and exaltation, for the faithful under various dispensations. His act of redemption is not an external and temporal event, but affords a spiritual and eternal center for man to follow in his individual experience.[2] Samson's regenerative experience, therefore, is "typological"[3] in that he himself, by following the pattern of the Son, sets the pattern for others.

What differentiates Samson from the Son is his fall from God's ways. Once fallen, Samson must regain his control of faculties and learn to respond to God's grace. The Son, descending to assume the form of servant for the redemption of mankind, shows and exemplifies the right response with the right functioning of his faculties. Both fulfill their assigned mission: the Son delivers mankind, and Samson, Israel. Samson, by fulfilling his role as a deliverer, achieves his redemption: the Son, by fulfilling his mission as an exemplification for man's imitation,

[1]Steadman, "The 'Suffering Servant,'" Milton's Epic Characters, p. 60.

[2]See Sadler, "Regeneration and Typology," p. 143.

[3]Sadler, "Typological Imagery in Samson Agonistes," p. 199.

proves his merit to be called the Son of God. The Son in Paradise Regained manifests complete faith in God even before Satan tempts him. When he is led into the wilderness "by some strong motion" (I. 290), he shows his complete reliance on Providence: "what concerns my knowledge God reveals" (I. 293). From the beginning, he has a clear understanding of a distinction between good and evil and gains self-knowledge and the way to his mission by overcoming the temptation. Samson gradually recovers his faith through learning to respond to God's calling and through coming to read the parodic consolations of the visitors.

Both in Paradise Lost and in Paradise Regained, the Son's ultimate faith or his rational liberty with right response is manifested in his "better fortitude/Of patience and heroic martyrdom" and in his "suffering for truth's sake"; they form the Messianic path of humiliation leading to ultimate exaltation and fame. With his fall and his loss of faith, Samson caricatures this pattern by parodying it in the ways of establishing earthly fame--disobedience and self-glorification. In the process of Samson's regeneration, however, he recognizes the need to assume humiliation through his gradual recovery of faith and gradual control of his faculties. The parodic consolations of the visitors serve for Samson as God's sign recalling the suffering hero to His way, manifested in the Son. Undergoing the trial, he fulfills the norm of the "Suffering

Servant," a heroic path to achieve heavenly fame.

In the beginning of Paradise Regained, the Son's main concern, like Samson's, rests on his divinely appointed role: to learn how to achieve his promised kingdom. He studies "The Law and Prophets" concerning his mission (I. 260-65). Samson, regardless of his lack of hope for the fulfillment of his role as a deliverer, follows the same pattern. At first refusing the Philistine officer's command in order to obey the "Law," he proceeds beyond it to follow God's grace. Both achieve their mission through the works of faith. Though the Son, unlike Samson, maintains his firm constancy with God throughout the trial, both heroes are tempted to lose faith in God. Satan tempts the Son to prove his divinity by turning stone into bread. The Son perceives that Satan is urging him to distrust God and replies that man lives by the Word of God, not by bread alone (I. 349-50). Here Satan insinuates (because of the Son's physical appearance) that the Son of God should not be led astray in the wilderness in such a lowly rejected state. Likewise, Samson in a fallen state is tempted to "call in doubt/Divine prediction," since his present physical condition is a far cry from his prophesied role as a deliverer. Because of their physical misery, both heroes are tempted to distrust God.

Again, Satan tries to tempt the Son to carnal reliance by offering him worldly glory. The Son does not

swerve from his faith in God; instead, by distinguishing earthly glory from heavenly, he learns the way to his mission and what God expects from him. Samson too by rejecting the offers of Manoa and Dalila refuses to submit to carnal reliance. Both tempters, like Satan, offer him the earthly way for the solution of what seems to be the hero's present problem. Samson learns that his physical servitude is the outward manifestation (result) of his inward servitude: the Son confirms that worldly kingship (inward servitude) is merely a parody of his spiritual kingdom.

Both are tempted to fall into despair. Satan evokes tempest and portends the Son's future destiny. He intends to make the Son forsake his faith through terror, but the "patient Son of God...only stood'st/Unshaken" (PR, IV. 420-21). Ironically, Satan's tempest itself shadows the Last Judgment, the Son's victory over the "Prince" (PR, IV. 441) of this world. Once more, the "Adversary" places the Son on the pinnacle, a temptation through violence, so that he may know the Son's identity. Yet the Son, without despair of God's mercy, trusts completely in God and stands. Samson, unlike the Son, feels despair, a "sense of Heav'n's desertion." However, against Harapha's direct challenge to the hero's faith by evoking despair, Samson confirms his confidence in God without despair of His pardon. Samson's former stature is recollected in Harapha; by rejecting Harapha's pride, the hero refuses worldly glory and chooses

the glory of God. After the exit of Harapha and before God calls, Samson shows growing patience with his intention that he will stand and wait till God reveals His plan. The Son likewise reveals patience by refusing Satan's appeal to zeal and duty: "All things are best fulfilled in their due time,/And time there is for all things" (PR, III. 182-83). Both fulfill their mission with patience and faith, and by relying on God's grace. The Son's "better fortitude/Of patience and heroic martyrdom" parallels Samson's "patience," "the truest fortitude" (654):

> patience is more oft the exercise
> Of saints, the trial of their fortitude,
> Making them each his own deliverer,
> And victor over all
> That tyranny or fortune can inflict. (1287-91)

Samson, through the trial of suffering, becomes the suffering saint "Whom patience finally must crown" (1296).

The final scene in Paradise Regained affords the consolation of Revelation: the heavenly banquet offered to the Son shadows the marriage supper of the Lamb and the hymn of the angelic quires, the praise of the Lamb. The Philistine feast in Samson Agonistes parodies but also shadows the marriage supper of the Lamb offered to the regenerate. Samson with a renewed strength becomes the instrument of God's justice, and the Son, the divine agent, who punishes the wicked in His wrath. The Son's defeat of

Satan in Paradise Lost is a figure for his final victory over the wicked in Revelation. He with his Father's strength executes divine vengeance on the wicked and leaves them "Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n" (PL, VI. 852). Likewise, Samson "With plain heroic magnitude of mind/And celestial vigor armed....executes/His errand on the wicked, who surprised/Lose their defense, distracted and amazed" (1279-86). After the punishment of the enemies, the "saints" "Shaded with branching palm" (PL, VI. 882, 885) welcome the Son and sing the hymn of triumph. Thus, with the consolation of Revelation, Samson and the Son gain final victory over all their enemies.

The Son's works of faith manifested in the norm of the "Suffering Servant" are provided as a pattern for Samson to regain God's approval and thus to achieve eternal fame. Adapting this pattern to his regenerative experience, Samson gains a renewed and profounder relationship with God. As God creates good out of evil, the losses are restored through the Son's and Samson's right responses to His accommodation. Both heroes' apocalyptic victory with glorification provides the outward manifestation of their triumph in weakness.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION:

MILTON'S EMERGING VIEW OF FAME AND THE HEROIC LIFE

From his youth, Milton was aware of the difference between human praise and immortal fame. He conceived at first the personification of Fame, which represents rumor or praise, as something secular and earthly. His immediate experiences with the people who surrounded him urged him to stress the transitory nature of earthly glory and, at the same time, seek the possibility of immortal fame in the Christian heaven. Quite naturally, for the poet whose mind was fixed on the immortality of fame, it was inevitable that he strictly meditated on the promise of ultimate rewards. In Chapter 1, we have observed Milton's conflict in defining immortality of fame. Lycidas has given us a clue to his conflict as well as the resolution of it. At the conclusion of the poem, he finds the assurance of eternal fame in the consolatory promise of Revelation. Moreover, his auto-biographical Sonnets have provided us with the notion that Milton, before the writing of his major poems, was already convinced that true fame is achieved for those who serve God with faith and patience.

By the writing of Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and Samson Agonistes, Milton, from the Christian viewpoint, clearly distinguishes heavenly fame from earthly. The Son

is the perfect exemplar of the faithful Christian. In Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, he sets and exemplifies the pattern of achieving heavenly fame for man's imitation through ultimate faith or rational liberty with right response manifested in his Messianic path of humiliation and exaltation. The Son's virtues of humiliation lie in his assuming humility before God through obedience, faith, and patience, which result from his correct reading of God's sign with the right functioning of his faculties. His pattern of action possesses timeless significance for Christians and provides the spiritual center of experience for an individual to imitate under various dispensations. Hence, it is only by following the pattern of the Son, through correct response, that the heroes of faith--Abdiel, Enoch, Noah, the Old Testament heroes--under various dispensations, are promised to achieve heavenly rewards. In all three poems, Milton shadows the consolatory promise of Revelation as providing the ultimate exaltation for the faithful, as he had already indicated in Lycidas and Epitaphium Damonis. The sufferings of the saints and martyrs depicted in Revelation--here is a call for the patience and faith of the saints--parallel those of the heroes of faith in the three poems. Milton elaborates on this point in tracing the regenerative experience of Samson in Samson Agonistes. Here again, the Son as the "Suffering Servant" provides the center of experience for Samson's

imitation. In all three poems, Milton's stress falls more on the magnanimous deeds and virtues or humiliation of the faithful heroes, manifestations of their right response, than their exaltation. It is their faith in God's Providence, in whatever tribulations they encounter, that resultantly leads to their exaltation. The eternal fame for the saints is assured, and their original glory is restored only when they marry the Lamb, their exemplar, who has performed the task of restoring man's original righteousness through sacrifice.

Milton throws into relief true Christian fame by parodying it in false varieties of earthly fame. Satan is an archetype of the worldly hero: he sets the parodic pattern of achieving true fame through a parody of the Son's response resulting from the distortion of his faculties manifested in his self-glorification and Stoic self-sufficiency. Unable to perceive that glory belongs properly to God, he tries to imitate God's glory through disobedience and apostasy. Milton carefully moulds Satan into an exemplary role of the worldly hero, or a parodic role of the Christian hero, in order to deny, by the method of parody, the conventional view of fame. The conventional concepts of fame (e.g., military prowess, wealth, power, wisdom) are the burlesque imitation of God's glory. Insatiable for glory, trusting in his own deserts, Satan loses all. The disparity between what he is and what he pretends to be

seems ridiculous in the eyes of God; his pretension proves illusionary against the reality of God. Milton tells us that true fame can be achieved only by glorifying God and by voluntarily renouncing one's own deeds, by ultimate faith in God's Providence. Man who desires the merit of his own deification by his own deeds, who is unwilling to read the ways of God, deserves humiliation like that accorded to Satan and the fallen angels.

We notice in Samson Agonistes that Milton employs the method of parody mainly to justify God's way to men. In the course of his regenerative experience, Samson comes to understand that he deserves his present physical and spiritual humiliation because he desired and enjoyed his own deification through loss of faith. By coming to realize his parodic stance of himself (his self-glorification and consequent physical and inner servitude) and the parodic consolations of the visitors, Samson acknowledges the true way of achieving heavenly fame. Milton shows that God allows men to enjoy (though temporarily) earthly fame not only to prove its falseness and the vanity of human merits, but also to remind the sinner to respond to God's grace in order that he may find the right path to heavenly fame. Only those who neglect and scorn God's grace deserve eternal punishment. Revelation affords at once the consolatory promise for the faithful and the promise of judgment for the reprobate.

Milton's view of fame in the early poems has not been radically altered in the major poems. Rather, it is progressive as well as emergent: his individual experiences in his youth enable him as he matures in years to grapple with the universal issue that confronts mankind. Milton's growing awareness of human weakness or depravity and the transient qualities of earthly fame is reflected in the early poems. We may say that his total rejection of earthly means and ends of achieving fame together with his full conviction of heavenly fame or that the divine glory is the sole reality emerges out of his gained insight into eternal fame in Lycidas and the Sonnets. By covering the whole Scriptural history of mankind from the Book of Genesis to Revelation, Milton shows that man restores the original brightness or the divine similitude before the Fall only when he attains heavenly fame. Until the time comes, man must observe, receive, and experience the pattern set by the Son:

> Without ambition, war, or violence;
> By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
> By patience, temperance.

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